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WAR & PEACE

U. S. in a policy trap in Mideast crisis

By Tabitha Petran

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

WITH ATTENTION HERE focused on the new crisis looming in the Middle East, UN diplomats were inclined to agree with the N. Y. **Times** (2/10) that U. S. policy was "moving into a critical and extremely awkward stage."

The most immediate problems confronting Washington stemmed from Israel's continued defiance of the UN in its refusal to withdraw to the 1949 armistice lines.

The U. S. pledge to Israel last week that it will support freedom of navigation in the Gulf of Aqaba was made as part of a determined effort to head off a sanctions-against-Israel debate in the UN. Such a debate could put the U. S. in the position of having to choose publicly not only between Israel and the Arab states but between Israel and the UN. Such choices, however made, would mean political storms at home and new strains on the U. S. relations with its allies and the African and Asian states.

Hitherto, the U. S. has played a double game: pro-Arab in public and pro-Israel behind the scenes. This equivocal stand, in the opinion of UN observers, has helped neither the Arab states nor Israel but has contributed to the difficulties of finding a peaceful settlement.

BEHIND THE SCENES: The new U. S. pledge to Israel came after a week of intensive behind the scenes negotiations at the UN, designed to bring Israel and Egypt together. It also followed on the heels of Secretary General Hammarskjold's report of his unsuccessful efforts to secure fulfillment of the two Assembly resolutions voted Feb. 2: the first calling for Israel's total withdrawal; the second providing Israel with some guarantees. This report was strongly critical of Israel and concluded with what was interpreted by some as a warning against

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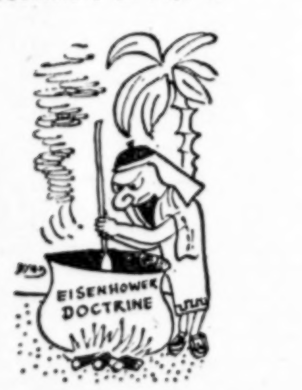
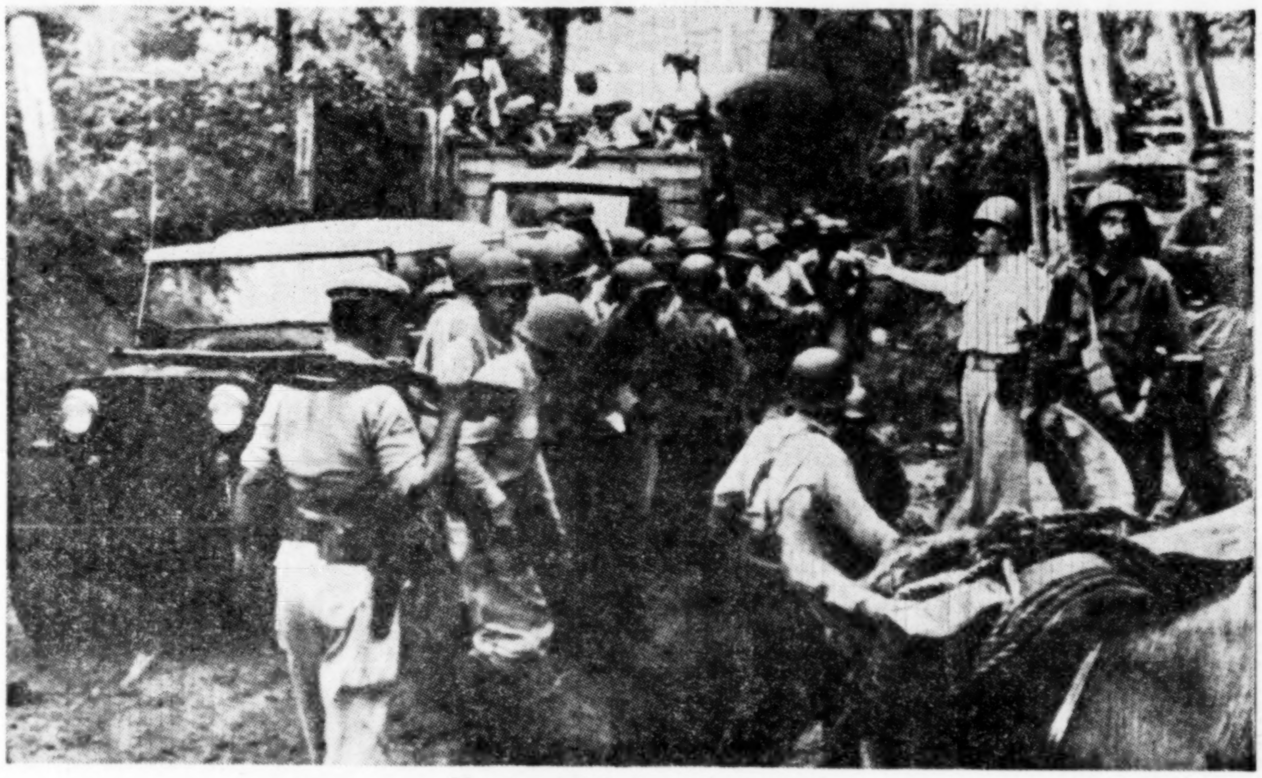


Drawing by Dyad, London
"Wot's cooking?"



Hunters with human quarry
Cuban troops comb the hills for Batista's opposition (see below)

BATISTA KEEPS ISLAND UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Cuba: Rule by blood

By Elmer Bendiner

AT NINE O'CLOCK last Christmas night two members of the Cuban Rural Guard knocked on the door of Alejo Tomas, a preparer of vats in the sugar mill called Delicias in the eastern tip of the island. Alejo lived with his wife and 14 children—including their own and some orphans they cared for. He had been a union leader and a Communist. After the July 26 abortive uprising—in which he had no part—he had been brutally beaten by the police. He was ill of tuberculosis.

One of the guards who knocked on his door was a man named Casanova who lived nearby with his wife and three children. Alejo and his family knew him as an ardent partisan of President Batista. Casanova told Alejo to dress and come to headquarters. Alejo's family watched uneasily as he left with the guards. On the way to headquarters the guards picked up another trade unionist and Communist, Hector Infante. His wife Digna Yance asked to go along, too. The guardsman said: "You know me I'm Casanova. I will take care of him. We only want to question him."

"MURDERERS": The guards walked the two men to another part of town where Hector Infante's father lived. His father heard the shots that killed Hector and Alejo. He recalled later that he looked up and said: "Who are they shooting now?" Hector's uncle passed by and the guards called him over to "identify" the bodies. He looked, shouted: "Murderers."

The guardsmen picked up the secy. general of the union at the Delicias mill. His two daughters clung to him all the way to headquarters. He was not killed, only beaten.

The same night in nearby Victoria de las Tunas, Pelayo Cusido Torres, local leader of the Autentico Party, who ran for mayor in 1954, whose brother is in Congress, was taken out and hanged, along with another Autentico leader. Townsmen identified the lynchers as members of the national police. They were seen driving away from the scene in a jeep.

In Holguin rumors raced through town all Christmas Day as army vehicles sped from house to house. Hundreds of homes were searched. Some townspeople were jailed; others were ordered to stay inside their houses or be shot.

ASK BATISTA: The first shots were heard in Holguin between 11 and midnight. Firing continued through the night.

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COUNCIL 'KILLS' FIFTH, DODGES BIG ISSUES

Internal disunity racks AFL-CIO

By Lawrence Emery

THE 14-MONTH-OLD, 15,000,000-strong merged labor movement last week had enough internal problems to make its future as a unified body shaky at best. But the 29-member executive council, which on Feb. 6 concluded its annual winter meeting at the rich man's playground, Miami Beach, considered few of them, solved none. Instead, the high command spent all its allotted time trying to put out a fire ignited by hostile Congressmen on the prowl for labor racketeers.

In a competitive scramble for righteousness and purity, the AFL-CIO brass, with but one dissenting vote, ruled that the Fifth Amendment is a fine thing but that any union official invoking it in the coming Congressional probe shall by that act forfeit his "right to continue to hold office in his union."

The statement denying the protection of the Fifth Amendment to unionists insisted "that this historical right must not be abridged." This seemed confusing to some, but AFL-CIO president George Meany said: "This policy can't be any plainer. I wrote it myself." The Meany policy also pledged full cooperation "with all proper legislative committees, law enforcement agencies and other public bodies seeking fairly and objectively to keep the labor movement or any other segment of our society free from any and all corrupt influences."

WHERE JOE LEFT OFF: The current Congressional attack on the labor movement began at the turn of the year when two Senate committees fought for the honor of tracking down union racketeers. Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.), who voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, contended that "the entire subject of racketeering in organizer labor lies squarely within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare"—of which he is a member.

Most unionists felt that if there had to be a probe, the Labor Committee would

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NOTICE

This month a large class of subscriptions fall due, and carry a red address label. If your address label reads February '57 or earlier your sub is in this category. It would be extremely helpful if you renewed NOW,

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REPORT TO READERS

Liberty, C. B. & S. F.

WE WELCOME to our pages and commend to your attention a periodic "colyum" by the Editors of Liberty Book Club, the first one appearing on p. 9 of this issue.

Our feeling of kinship with Liberty Book Club dates back to our earliest months, when Liberty—like the NATIONAL GUARDIAN—was seeking to establish (and deserve) a foothold among the progressive people of our country.

With our own fish to fry so much of the time, we perhaps haven't said as much as we ought as often as we ought about the quality and urgency of the selections Liberty has been sending out monthly at bargain prices to its members since 1948. It is hardly possible now to glance back over the hundreds of volumes Liberty has offered its members as selections, dividends or alternate choices; as indeed it might be unfair to a shelf full of eligibles to try to pick the "bests", over the years. Yet some mentions are in order, such as Claude Bowers' books on the Jefferson era; John Wexley's monumental **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg**; B. Traven's **Rebellion of the Hanged**; the great story of Dr. Norman Bethune's work in Spain and China, **The Scalpel, the Sword**; the recantations of Harvey Matusow, the first big haymaker landed against the informer system; and many other books as timely as they have been readable.

We expect the Editors of Liberty Book Club (who happen to be the editors of Cameron Associates, too—Angus Cameron and Carl Marzani) to blow their own horn in their column. But we anticipate that the Liberty column may tend rather toward general commentary on the culture and literature of our time. We hope for both—and we renew the suggestion we made to you by mail last Spring, that we think hardly a GUARDIAN reader can afford not to be a member of Liberty Book Club. We hope you'll see it this way, too, as you come to know the Editors better through their columning.

SPEAKING OF BOOKS, we have just sent to the bindery the "innards" of a U.S. edition of Cedric Belfrage's 236-page new book **The Frightened Giant**, published in London by Martin Secker & Warburg. We expect to have copies of our edition early in March, with the original front-jacket design by Vicky, the famous cartoonist of the London **Daily Mirror**, the **New Statesman & Nation**, and other British publications. We won't know the price until all the costs are counted up for shipping, binding, jackets, etc., but it will be a handsome library edition and we suggest pushing aside a place on your shelves for it now. You may remember our excerpting a chapter from it, headed "My Sister, My Brother," last June at the anniversary of the execution of the Rosenbergs. The rest of the book is just as fine, warm and memorable.

LAST BUT NOT LEAST, we welcome a new San Francisco representative, succeeding Malvina Reynolds (who has gone a-tour with her music-making guitar and folk repertory and may be visiting your home town one of these days). Our new "rep" is an old GUARDIAN hand, Isabel Van Frank, who managed our home office for many years before she and her husband headed west, they said to retire. (They tried retirement before, but couldn't make it stick.)

Many of our Bay Area people know Isabel Van Frank pretty well by now—she managed the December meeting at the California Auditorium at which Tabitha Petran reported on the Middle East and her travels abroad last year. It would be incorrect to say of Mrs. Van Frank that she has a whim of iron; rather she has the soft persuasiveness of a trade wind, so you'd better plan now to sail along with her. She doesn't allow doldrums.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

No more 'doctrines'

PUEBLO, COLO.

Following the Guardian's suggestion, I have mailed some postcards as follows:

"Please, please! Let us not have another 'Doctrine' such as the Truman 'Doctrine.' Let us not do injustice to the memory of Monroe! Let us have another Summit Conference (as hopeless as it may seem!). Let us do anything, anything—to disarm, not arm!"

Paul Stewart

P.S. So you think your one-in-fifty-million vote is powerful? Think what power your one-in-ten-thousand letter to a Senator, a Representative a President, is!

Up Dag!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I propose a new slogan for the international scene:

"Let Dag do it!"

When Dulles and his tribe of blusterers take over we cringe "on the brink." When Dag takes over we breathe deep and stand erect, citizens in a world of growing peace and security.

A new verb comes out of all this: "to dag," a speech part rich in benevolent complexities and over-tones. "You can hardly translate it into English"—but it means, among other things, to work loyally, persistently and with quiet dignity for democratic order abroad the earth.

A significant man, this Hammarskjold. **Reuben W. Borough**

Anti-doctrine

ERWIN, TENN.

Just as the British Empire is passing, the heyday of the American Way is passing too. Eisenhower's doctrine that Standard Oil, Doris Duke, the Pentagon and his chums Dixon & Yates must be maintained in the style to which they are accustomed, and at the expense of the people of the Middle East, is a carbon copy of the Eden doctrine and doomed to the same fate.

Ernest Seeman

Freedom's free-for-all

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

There are, I read in the press, currently some 600,000 Malayan freedom fighters behind the barbed wire in British concentration camps in south-east Asia.

The U.S. government, ever-benevolent, ever-alert to lend aid to freedom fighters, should immediately welcome to our shores at least 20,000 of these beleaguered Malayans. Rep. Francis Walter (D-Pa.) should personally supervise the airlift. Priority should be given to Malayan athletes (swimmers and soccer players, perhaps) with an eye to 1960. Msgr. Fulton Sheen and Zsa Zsa Gabor should be the honorary co-chairmen of a Funds-for-Malaya drive. Special spots on several giveaway or variety TV shows should be reserved for a select group of worthy Malayans. Ralph Edwards should certainly be consulted. President Eisenhower should proclaim a day of prayer. Let's go.

Nahum D. Bloom

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

FLAG ON THE MOON—Planting an American flag on the moon by rocket to claim the lunar body for the U. S. is being advocated by a national science magazine as the first step in implementing President Eisenhower's proposal for international control of interplanetary space and earth satellites.

Labor's Daily, Quint City edition, Jan. 24.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: H. O'Brien, Moline, Ill. Be sure to send original clip with each entry.

Travesty

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

That there was a counter-revolution brewing in Hungary as a result of religious ties there can be no doubt. That our radio broadcasters and balloon-launching agents helped stir up that group, there can be no doubt. The get-tough policy—encircling Russia with air fields to attack her cities—common knowledge here and undoubtedly common knowledge to the Russians — makes suppression necessary though regrettable for the Russians. If the Russians did as our country has over the last ten years, war would have come long ago. Why doesn't the GUARDIAN remind readers of the attack on the Greek people, where 20-30,000 were killed; where King George, former pro-Hitlerite, was placed over the Greek people by force and violence? How about Guatemala and the thousands killed and the government overthrown through our country's interference? How about the attack on Korea, where our country dropped napalm bombs on innocent people, burning them to death?

What a travesty we have brought about on this earth since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, one of the dirtiest deals ever perpetrated by a so-called Christian nation! It makes me ashamed to be a member of the white race.

Clint W. Lovely

Rat race

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

There is a domestic state of affairs that casts a shadow over the future of our jobs.

Figures for 1956 are not yet available, but during 1955 private debt soared to a record $381 billion, an increase of $39.6 billion in a single year. This followed a rise of $14 billion in 1954 and $21 billion in 1953.

It was more than double the year's savings of $19.4 billion. Thus for every dollar saved the people went into debt to the extent of $2, and at a time when the government and press compete in boasting that the greatest number of workers are producing and earning more than at any other time anywhere.

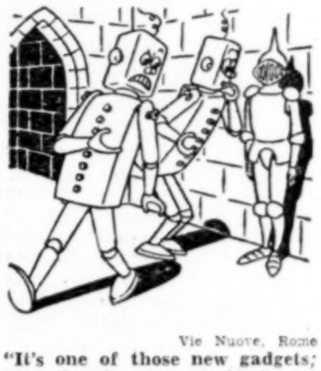
The reason for this paradox is that consumers bought more heavily into debt, while home buyers ran up mortgages at a faster rate than ever. Mortgages on homes are now approaching the $100 billion mark.

The dominant danger is that people must go into debt at an ever faster rate and borrow more and more from future income to buy the things they need. The Federal Reserve Board awhile back told us that millions of families had exhausted their savings in this post-war boom. Millions more have reached the limit of spending future income via the instalment route, which stood at $31 billion Nov. 30, one-half of it for autos.

Here is the Achilles heel of this boom cycle. These statistics portend trouble for the future. We hear its rumblings now in higher interest rates, with a slow-down in housing and auto and appliance sales. Comparing this people's balance sheet with the rampant profits of the munition trusts, it is a one-sided prosperity largely confined to them and the stock market.

How long before this rat race of income and debt punctures the prosperity bubble filling the unemployed lines with economic refugees? **Jeff Patrick**

A leading Wall St. financial newsletter affirms the above and asks: "Where is the money coming from? . . . All through American history, we have found that when the money supply ran out there was a serious financial and economic crisis."—Ed.



Vie Nuove, Rome

"It's one of those new gadgets; there's a man inside."

Moral

PARADISE, CALIF.

The dilemma faced by the financially successful liberal of our present era is how to proclaim his alleged cultural freedom and independence, at the same time taking great care not to bite the hand that feeds him.

A serious radical must be able to resist the twin evils of bitterness and disillusionment.

H. De La Rochefoucauld

If winter comes

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

At 72 you don't expect to see many more winters, but after every winter a spring follows—a time of planting, a time of hope for a better harvest, a better prospect for the future not only for the individual but for mankind.

A changing world—and I hate to leave it, because it is changing, and faster than ever before in man's history. The blind alleys of the past are gradually being labelled for what they are. True, our mechanical education outruns our social effort but eventually they will be combined for the time of peace—when we shall build houses and live therein and plant vineyards and eat the fruit thereof.

George E. Sogle

Note to progressives

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On Feb. 14 there were three by-elections in New York City. As far as the Republicans, Democrats and Liberals are concerned, there were no issues, and even the names of the candidates were unknown.

Nothing could better point up the need for an independent, progressive political organization that would have discussed publicly the issues of rent control, income tax reduction, unemployment insurance benefits and the security risk law.

The sooner progressive groups stop discussing why the Soviet Union did or did not do this or that, and start working **together** for poliical action in the U.S. **now** and not at some future distant date, the better government officials will be elected.

Henry Abrams

Canadian caper

WHONOCK, B. C.

We're Uncle Psalm, in God
we trust,
And in the land the dollar
built;
Our leadership, it is a 'must',
We advertise it with a lilt.

Non-conformists are taboo;
Our-Way-of-Life's the only
way;
And we shall let the daylight
through
Any guys that say us nay.

P. Nut

MILD LAW STILL HELD LIKELY

Civil rights bills stalled by South; Ike no help

CONGRESSIONAL supporters of civil rights legislation—some wholly sincere and others concerned only with being on the popular side of the record—were still predicting last week that passage of a minimum program this year is a sure thing. But Southern stalling tactics, which killed civil rights bills in the last Congress, were already in operation and were throwing the liberals' time-table out of joint.

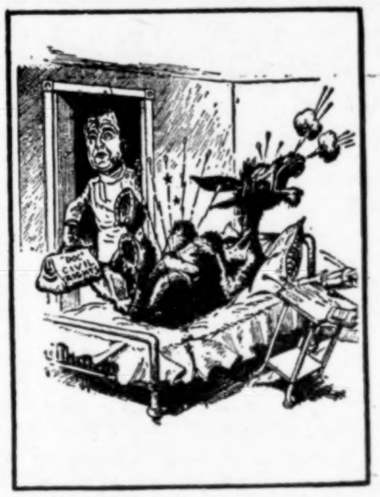
President Eisenhower, whose modest four-point package was gradually being accepted as the most that could be hoped for, was most resolute in declining to call for speedy action. At his press conference on Feb. 6 he was asked if he had urged Congressional leaders of his party to hurry things along against the threat of a Dixiecrat filibuster. He replied: "The timing of such things I leave entirely to the leaders in Congress." He was for civil rights, but he wouldn't fight for them: "I have said as emphatically as I know how that I want a civil rights bill of the character that we recommended to Congress . . . It is intended to preserve rights without arousing the passions and without disturbing the rights of anybody else. I think it is a very decent and very needful piece of legislation."

SOUTHERN FRONT: A filibuster against any kind of civil rights legislation, even the mildest, was certain in the Senate. Early in January Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) told newsmen the issue will be met head-on by Southerners determined to defend "the Constitutional rights of the states and the people" against "these mis-named civil rights bills." Sen. George A. Smathers (D-Fla.) announced that he would "be happy" to participate in such a filibuster. Early this month Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) spoke for his Southern colleagues: "We will make the best fight we are capable of making to prevent any action on these bills. The proposal to permit taking civil rights suits directly into Federal court is one of the most iniquitous ever made in Congress." He said the South can count on at least 19 participants if a filibuster develops.

JEWISH CHARM

Karen Deslandes, 17-year-old high school student of Berkley, Mich., is of Scottish-French descent. To test the world she lives in she attached to her bracelet a Jewish symbol as a charm. She wore it for six weeks and watched the atmosphere cool. Since then she has been reporting the results of her "experiment" to civic and religious groups. This month she is to be given the Brotherhood Award.

First delaying action came in the House. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, declared on Jan. 15 that he expected action on civil rights to be completed by his group by Jan. 25, with the proposals then going to the Rules Committee headed by Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.). But hearings before a Celler sub-committee didn't get started until Feb. 4.



Afro-American, Baltimore

The only man who can help him

DELAYING TACTICS: Even then Celler thought he could wind up the hearings in four days but last week they were still unfinished. A move in the House for unanimous consent for the subcommittee to conduct its hearings even though the House was in session was blocked by the objection of Rep. William M. Colmer (D-Miss.). More delays were in store when the bills reached the Rules Committee. Rep. Smith said: "They won't get any aid or comfort from me," and added: "The longer the hearings, the better it will suit me."

In the Senate the Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.) ran into similar blocking tactics. On Jan. 22 Sen. James O. Eastland, chairman of the parent committee, named four new members to the Hennings subcommittee, two Dixiecrats, Olin D. Johnston (S.C.) and Sam J. Ervin Jr. (N.C.), and two Republicans, Roman L. Hruska (Neb.) and Arthur V. Watkins (Utah). Hennings had proposed Feb. 25 as a deadline for action in his subcommittee, but the two new Southerners declared themselves in favor of unlimited hearings and Hruska, although a co-sponsor of the Eisenhower package, sided with them.

EISENHOWER PLAN: Hennings originally had set Feb. 12 for the start of hearings, later postponed them to Feb. 14. On Jan. 30 he got two more setbacks: a motion to report favorably an omnibus measure including the Eisenhower program was defeated 5 to 2, and a motion to limit public hearings to two weeks was voted down 4 to 3. Hennings told newsmen he was "very disappointed."

In the House subcommittee hearings Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell was the first witness. He supported Eisenhower's four proposals, which would (1) create a Federal bipartisan commission for a continuing study of civil rights matters; (2) create a civil rights division in the Dept. of Justice; (3) strengthen the protection of voting rights; (4) permit the government to bring civil suits to protect civil rights. Of these proposals, Brownell said none "would extend or increase the area of civil rights in which Federal jurisdiction, as defined by the courts, exists today . . . In asking the Congress to provide civil remedies, we are not asking for new and untried powers, nor are we asking for any extension of Federal jurisdiction in civil rights cases."

A STEP FORWARD: Weak as this program is, it got the backing of Roy Wilkins who appeared not only as executive secretary of the NAACP but as spokesman for 21 other organizations. He said his groups were willing to "compromise our demands" in favor of a "minimum bill, but . . . it must be a meaningful bill." He said the Eisenhower program is far short of meeting the "real needs" but that it is "a step forward in the safeguarding of the most basic rights—the right to vote and the right to security of the person."

But to Dixiecrats these mild proposals seemed like a declaration of war. Gov. James P. Coleman of Mississippi said they would set back Negro-white relations in the South by 25 years and threatened that the result would be "continuous . . . agitation and uproar." Eugene Cook, attorney general of Georgia, said they constituted a "Soviet type Gestapo". He said: "Enactment of this legislation would result in creation of a Federal Gestapo which would hold needless investigations, pry into the affairs of the states and their citizens, and intimidate a majority of our citizens solely to appease the politically powerful minority pressure groups inspired by the Communistic ideologies of the police state."

STALIN & DAMOCLES: Rep. Henderson Lanham (D-Ga.) declared that "Stalin himself could not have conceived" such a program. Circuit Judge George C. Wallace of Clayton, Ala., said defiantly that he was "not going to permit any unlawful interference by the Federal police in my district."

Edward Scheidt, North Carolina State Commissioner of Motor Vehicles, was most vehement; he was rebuked by Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) who said his testimony "borders on the insulting." Scheidt contended that a Federal Commission on civil rights would put every local police officer "under a sword of Damocles, knowing that his every act might be criminally examined by the Federal government at the instigation of criminals, psychopaths, pressure groups or anyone who wanted to make trouble for him."

Scheidt was once the FBI agent in charge of the New York office; according to the Washington **Post**, he "is credited with a key role in cracking the Rosenberg spy case."

Best outlook for civil rights legislation in Washington last week was that there might be a showdown in April or May after a three to five week filibuster in the Senate.

PONTON PROTESTS

Fight on lawyer delays Sobell's appeal to Mar. 4

ARGUMENT before the Court of Appeals in New York on Morton Sobell's motion for a new trial or a hearing on new evidence was postponed Feb. 8 until Mar. 4. The move came after U.S. consular officials in Mexico denied a leading Mexican lawyer entry into the U.S. to participate in the argument except under surveillance. The lawyer, Dr. Luis Sanchez Ponton—a former diplomat, onetime Mexican minister of education and now law professor at the University of Mexico—refused to enter the country under surveillance after conferring with Mexican government officials.

Dr. Ponton's original request for a visa to participate in the Sobell hearing scheduled for Feb. 4 was met with the answer that there would be "considerable delay." His protest and those of his U.S. legal colleagues in the Sobell motion resulted in a decision to offer him a visa for the duration of the argument, or three days, whichever was longer, on condition that he would submit to constant surveillance by Immigration officials during his entire stay. Dr. Ponton's participation in presenting the Sobell motion was occasioned by evidence in the motion that Sobell was kidnapped from Mexico contrary to Mexican law and its extradition treaty with the U.S.

Sobell is now serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz as a fellow-defendant in the trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1951 for alleged conspiracy to commit espionage.

A CALL TO NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE IN 1837

The law of the heart

Just as Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. today advocates non-violent resistance to the segregationists because unarmed Negroes are no match for city police and state militia, William Whipper, a "free man of color," 120 years ago advocated non-resistance in the anti-slavery struggle for a similar reason. Following is an excerpt from Whipper's speech, "Non-Resistance to Offensive Aggression," before an anti-slavery society in 1837.

I AM AWARE that there are those who consider the non-resistance wholly impracticable. But I trust that but few such can be found that have adopted the injunction of the Messiah for their guide and future hope, for He commands us: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you and pray for them that despitefully use you." These words were peculiarly applicable at the period they were uttered and had a direct reference to the wars and strifes that then convulsed the world, and they are equally applicable at this moment . . .

WILLIAM WHIPPER

Human governments then, as well as now, were too feeble to stay the ravages of passion and crime, and hence there was an evident necessity for the imperious command, "Unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other." . . . We must be prepared at all times to meet the scoffs and scorns of the vulgar and indecent—the contemptible frowns of haughty tyrants and the blighting mildew of a popular and sinful prejudice. If amidst these difficulties we can but possess our souls in patience, we shall finally triumph over our enemies . . .

Let us not think the world has no regard for our efforts—they are looking forward to them with intense interest and anxiety. The enemies of the abolitionists are exhibiting a regard for the power of their principles that they are unwilling to acknowledge, although it is everywhere known over the country that abolitionists "will not fight," yet they distrust their own strength so much that they frequently muster a whole neighborhood of from 50 to 300 men, with sticks, stones, rotten eggs and bowie knives, to mob and beat a single individual, probably in his 'teens, whose heart's law is non-resistance . . .

NON-VIOLENCE FROM BOXING RING

4,000 in New Orleans hear Rev. King predict victory

Special to the GUARDIAN

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

THE GOSPEL of peaceful resistance to Dixie's cherished "way of life" was brought personally to the South's largest city on the night of Feb. 1. Neither the continuous cold rain nor the White Citizens Council's belligerent opposition chilled Rev. Martin Luther King, the speaker. The almost unceasing applause of some 4,000 who crowded Coliseum Arena seemed to warm even that barnlike sports auditorium. The boxing ring was Dr. King's platform.

Speaking from the experience of more than a year's leadership of Montgomery's successful anti-jimcrow bus movement, Dr. King said three viewpoints were discernable:

"The extreme optimists believe integration inevitable, but the extreme pessimists, impossible; both extremes agree in telling us to sit down and do nothing. The realists accept all the facts and go to work on them."

NO PESSIMISTS: Applause indicated that there were no pessimists present when he said the legal fight for integration will be won by 1963 "if we stand up as a race and protest en masse against, and refuse to cooperate with, segregation." The audience could have been thinking about the suit filed that day in Federal district court to end jimcrow on buses and streetcars in New Orleans when they shouted "Amen!" to this declaration:

"We will have to stand up with determination and say we're going to be disobedient to local law in order to abide by Federal law . . . When you stand firm and refuse to hit back—they don't understand that. The British couldn't understand it in India; and India now has its own government and Nehru has the respect of the United States."

The suit filed that day pointed out that when the plaintiffs met New Orleans Public Service officials on Jan 9 they were told by George S. Dinwiddie, its president, that "the laws of Louisiana have not been reviewed by the U.S. Supreme Court and must, therefore, be complied with." Louisiana law stipulates that violators of jimcrow statutes may be fined $25 and jailed for 30 days. The suit asked that the three-judge court declare "any and all practices and usages" by which the plaintiffs and all other Negro citizens of New Orleans are segregated on buses and streetcars null and void and in violation of the 14th Amendment.

A LONG WAY: Dr. King said tension in the South "can be traced to the Negro's determination to suffer and sacrifice—and even die, if necessary—for his freedom." He sketched the Negro's attainments economically, educationally and politically since the Jamestown, Va., landing in 1619; followed each example with the softly slurred comment: "We've come a lo-o-o--ong, long way." Then, reviewing existing obstacles, he said: "We've got a lo-o-o-ng way to go." He went on:

"We are still confronted in the North with hidden segregation and in the South with glaring segregation. But I say that if democracy is to live, segregation has to die. It is an evil we must destroy. The judicial branch of our government is now fighting the battle of integration alone; the executive and legislative branches have fallen behind.

"We have nothing but sympathy for Hungary and its fight for freedom; but how can our government be concerned about what is happening to Hungarians and not be concerned"—thunderous applause drowned his words and he waited and then repeated—'how can our government not be concerned about what is happening in the United States?"

BUT KEEP MOVING: He exhorted all to refuse to comply with local jimcrow laws which violate Federal laws. He advised the teachers present: "If all of you united on this matter, no state could fire all of you." They shouted and stamped approval. He concluded:

"If homes are bombed, it is necessary to make them see they will have to bomb 250,000 homes . . . Let's move forward! If you can't run, walk! If you can't walk, crawl! But keep moving! Some of us may have to die—maybe it'll be me or maybe it'll be you. As for me, I'd rather die than remain a slave! . . . I don't know what the future holds, but I know who holds the future."

The meeting was sponsored by United Clubs, Inc., once a scattered medley of social clubs traditionally associated with New Orleans' famous Mardi Gras festival. Their "rededication" of purpose under a single leadership calls for suspension of frivolities "until we are free." The temper of the meeting and of United Clubs seemed to be expressed in the prayer of Rev. T. J. Jemison, pastor of Baton Rouge's Mt. Zion Baptist Church:

"O Lord, give us the patience to endure what we cannot change, and the courage to change that which we can, and the good sense to know which is which."

HAPPY
89th
BIRTHDAY

On February 23, 1868, William Edward Burghardt DuBois was born in Great Barrington, Mass. In his 89 years he has been editor, teacher, philosopher, historian, poet, novelist and playwright. He has given heart and counsel to thousands of Americans and citizens of every country of the world. To our most distinguished and keenest contributor, the editors and staff of the GUARDIAN wish many fruitful years to come.

The Israel side—the Arab side

IN THE deadlock over withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba, both Israel and the Arab countries have made their position quite clear.

Israel maintains that Egypt violated the 1949 armistice agreement (1) by using Gaza, which the armistice left in Egyptian control, as a fedayeen (commando) base of operations against Israel; and (2) by blocking the Gulf of Aqaba (and the Suez Canal) to Israeli shipping. Therefore, Israel's Ambassador Eban said, Israel will not withdraw her troops from the Gulf and from Gaza unless the action is "accompanied by related measures to prevent a renewal of conflict by land and sea."

The Arab nations contend that the UN resolution of Nov. 2, 1956, calls for unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt's soil. The fedayeen raids, Yemen's UN Ambassador Othman said, started "after many Arab border villages were attacked by Israel armed forces" in violation of the armistice agreement.

(There have been almost continuous border clashes since the 1949 armistice; the UN Armistice Commission and other UN agencies have found both Israel and the Arab countries guilty of launching the raids.)

1888 AND 1951: Eban asserts that, in the Suez Canal, the Gaza Strip and the Gulf of Aqaba, the duty of the UN "is not to re-establish but to prevent the re-establishment of the previous situation. For, in each case the situation on 28 October, 1956, [before the invasion of Egypt] was one of illegality and not of law." Israel maintains that Egypt is bound by the 1888 Convention to allow free Suez passage even to enemy ships, and more especially by the UN Sept. 1, 1951, directive to Egypt to lift its blockade of shipping to Israel.

Egypt contends that Israel, by its border raids, restored a state of war between the two countries, and that the 1888 Convention endows Cairo with rights of self-defense. (It has been suggested—by India's Premier Nehru, for example—that freedom of passage for Israeli shipping be decided upon either by asking the Geneva Court to interpret the article on Egypt's right of self-defense in the 1888 Convention or by negotiating a new canal users' convention.)

THE MAIN ISSUE: At bottom, the issue seems to be Arab recognition of the existence of Israel.

Israel asks for peace treaties with her neighbors on the basis of (1) Israel's present boundaries (with minor adjustments to make them more rational); (2) the present status of bisected Jerusalem; (3) the resettlement of Arab refugees in Arab lands, with Israel compensating the refugees for property losses.

The Arabs demand that Israel live up to (1) the 1947 UN partition of Palestine; (2) repatriation and compensation for Arab refugees from Israeli territory; (3) internationalization of Jerusalem, as originally advocated by the UN.

U. S. in a trap

(*Continued from Page 1*)

sanctions and by others as a suggestion for UN "collective measures." (In fact, Hammarskjold took no position; he merely pointed to the difficulties involved.)

At the UN there was much speculation whether the latest U.S. move would resolve the situation. The question was: Would Israel now end its defiance of UN and withdraw? It now has a U. S. pledge on Aqaba and Egypt has given the Secretary General its pledge to observe the Armistice Agreement. At presstime it was not clear what Israel's response to the new situation would be.

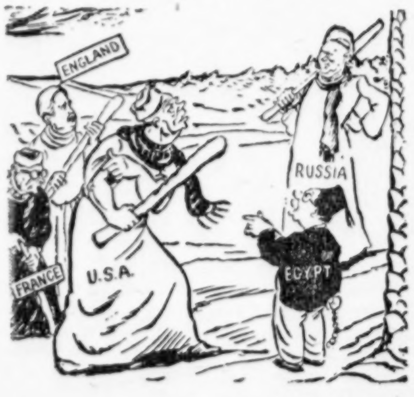
WATCH THE DOCTRINE: As the crisis in the Middle East develops, UN is also watching anxiously to see how Washington's Mideast Doctrine will affect the situation. The Doctrine is recognized here as implementing a transfer of power in that area from Britain to the U.S. What dismays many here, however, is the fact that it proposes to use force or the threat of force to frustrate the desire of the peoples of this area to avoid alignment with either of the great power blocs and their determination to achieve their own independent status.

The promise of arms and economic aid to Saudi Arabia's King Saud, in return for a five-year lease on the Dharhan airbase, and the King's implied endorsement of the Eisenhower Doctrine, was regarded as a first step towards its implementation. Washington's strategy was plain enough: to bring Saud, if not openly into the Baghdad Pact, then at least into a pro-West alignment. This would put pressure on Egypt's President Nasser either to come in, too, or face breakup of the neutralist combination made up of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.

Since Saudi Arabia will pay the lion's share of the Arab subsidy to Jordan (to replace the British subsidy), a U.S. agreement with Saudi Arabia could easily affect Jordan. British sources were already charging that the U.S.-Saudi Arabia agreement meant that the U.S. would be indirectly paying the subsidy, and claimed to see a related significance in King Hussein's recent denunciations of communism and recent suppression of "Soviet propaganda" in Jordan.

NEW FREEZE: But the claims of U.S. officials that the Saud-Eisenhower talks represented a "great diplomatic victory" seemed rather premature. Saud's "endorsement" of the Mideast Doctrine was at best guarded. Publicly at least there

(*Continued on Page 5*)



Al Akhbar, Cairo

U.S.—"If the Russian thugs beat you up I'll use force to help you."
Egypt—"And if the British and French thugs hit me, what will you do?"

U. S. in a trap

(Continued from Page 4)

was no change in his opposition to the Baghdad Pact or his avowed admiration for Nasser. Saud apparently got what he wanted from the U.S. But the results for the U.S. can only be assessed in the months to come.

The Mideast Doctrine, which appears to many at UN to have completed the re-freezing of Washington's policy, is viewed with concern. The strong impression made here last fall by the joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. stand against the Suez invasion in October has not wholly faded.

The report

UN SECRETARY GENERAL Hammarskjold's report to the General Assembly Feb. 11, put the onus for his failure on Israel's attitude. Israel, he said, had refused to state its position on:

1. The withdrawal resolution, which the Assembly had made clear was to precede implementation of the guarantee resolution.

2. The withdrawal of its civilian administrative units from the Gaza strip, although there is "an unavoidable connection" between Israel's willingness to comply with this UN demand and "what may be done toward maintaining quiet in the Sharm el-Sheikh area."

3. Stationing of UN Emergency Forces on Israel's side of the armistice line, although Israel demanded stationing of UNEF on Egyptian territory at Sharm el-Sheikh; this would require Egypt's consent.

The report stressed that Israel's demand for an Egyptian declaration of nonbelligerency "has been put forward while Israel itself, by continued occupation, maintains a state of belligerency which, in the case of Gaza, it has not indicated its intention to liquidate." It underlined a new fact: that Egypt had "reaffirmed its intent to observe fully the provisions of the Armistice Agreement." It recalled also that in an earlier report Hammarskjold had noted Egypt's desire "to see an end to all raids and incursions across the Armistice line in both directions, with effective assistance from UN auxiliary organs."

THOSE TORRID SHEIKS

Young Prince Masshur of Saudi Arabia, with unidentified hand on collar, kisses daughter of U.S. ambassador who files undiplomatic protest in wild Washington revel.

For a time thereafter U.S. policy appeared flexible; new approaches were reported in the wind; real changes seemed possible. But the Mideast Doctrine revealed Washington to be as blind as ever to the new world realities, particularly the new forces given impetus by Bandung.

DISARMAMENT STALLED: With the proclamation of the Doctrine, policy has stiffened all down the line and a clear no-negotiations-with-the-U.S.S.R. attitude over Europe and disarmament has now re-emerged. U.S. officials justify what the Washington **Post** (2/5) called their "stand-pat attitude in relation to Russia" by claiming that nothing can be done until after the W. German elections next fall and the current revision of the British military program is completed. They are stalling disarmament negotiations looking toward freezing atomic stockpiles and limiting atomic tests—at least until after the British have built up their atomic stockpiles and tested the British H-bomb.

But last week's Soviet bid for disarmament talks at the foreign minister's level convinced UN that the U.S.S.R. is determined not to let this question be buried for another year in the Disarmament Commission. One of the Soviet disarmament proposals made last Nov. 17—for joint withdrawal, under an inspection and control system, of Soviet and Western troops from Central Europe—has provoked lively interest and discussion in W. Europe and in Washington too. The present Soviet disarmament move, coupled with Soviet Premier Bulganin's letter to W. German Chancellor Adenauer, suggest an accleration of Soviet pressures in this direction.

W. GERMAN SITUATION: These pressures will not be easy to resist. For one thing, the desire to end nuclear experiments and control the H- and A-bombs is real and worldwide. When the U.S.S.R. accuses the U.S. of trying to sabotage disarmament negotiations, its position, as the **Christian Science Monitor** pointed out (2/8), is "relatively strong" and "it may be difficult for Washington to go on resisting."

For another, the situation in W. Germany as elections approach may prove difficult to control. Social Democratic leader Erich Ollenhauer, during his current visit to Washington, will certainly seek support for his contention that W. Germany must be prepared to barter its NATO membership for reunification within a European Security System—a system which would replace NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Even Adenauer, driven by election-year needs, has hinted that neutralization of Germany might mean a first step toward unification. And Edmond Taylor (Washington **Post,** 2/8) reported from Bonn that "while German officials are cautious in evoking the possibility of W. German withdrawal from NATO to enter an All-Europe Security System after unification, one no longer gets the impression the idea is unthinkable."

QUESTION OF CHINA: Pressure was also mounting against the rigidity of the U.S.'s non-recognition of China policy. Secy. Dulles' threat to revoke the passports of three U.S. correspondents who defied the ban to visit China provoked wide protest and much ridicule (see p. 7). One of the three, William Worthy, writing from Peking (**Afro-American,** 2/2), suggested one source of Washington's blindness to today's realities. Recalling that "many of the men who help frame American foreign policy are Southerners who brought their color prejudices to Washington with them," he said:

"From the vantage point of this newly proud and newly self-confident capital, one wonders anew about the roots of our China policy which the diplomatic colony in Peking regards as fantastic and self-defeating. Is it possible that this policy stems in part from a sense of outrage that a hitherto passive nation of 'little yellow men' should stand up to the West and insist on full respect? Is it possible that the Communists will really bury the West . . . because America, leader of the West, still expects Uncle Tom reactions and hat-in-hand servility from Nehru, Mao Tse-tung and the rest of the world of color?"

The more businesslike approach to China being urged by a powerful Administration supporter, Henry Ford II, has also won wide attention. Ford recently suggested it might be economically wise for the U. S. to open up trade with "such satellite areas" as Poland, Hungary, E. Germany and "even Red China." Copies of his address were sent to every Congressman and, according to John O'Donnell (N.Y. **Daily News,** 2/8) the speech "was carefully read." O'Donnell saw the speech and the report of Sen. Ellender (D-La.), calling for a radical "new look" in American foreign policy, as part of a "gentle pressure" to condition "mass thinking" to accept China in the UN and trade with the East. Businessmen are increasingly demanding lifting of restrictions on East-West trade, especially trade with China, it was reported by business columnist Curtis Hoxter (**N.Y. World-Telegram, 2/2**). He predicted that "U.S. goods will go to Red China in the not too distant future."

THE SIGN OF OUR TIME: But at UN, Washington was still giving the cold war priority. In the debate on Algeria, the U.S. backed France to the hilt and indicated it would vote against the very moderate resolution introduced by 18 Asian-African powers. This called on France to recognize the Algerian peoples' right to self-determination, and to enter negotiations for a peaceful settlement, and asked the Secretary General to assist such negotiations. Apparently French officials had convinced Washington that a hostile attitude toward France on the Algerian question would mean basic damage to U.S.-French relations and even French withdrawal from NATO.

U.S. opposition virtually assured defeat of the Asian-African resolution in the Assembly, where a two-thirds majority is required. But the many speeches made by African and Asian delegates, nearly all of which recalled Bandung and its stand on Algeria, were impressive evidence of the emergence onto the world scene of the rising nations of Asia and Africa. The West might be blind but it could not much longer ignore the fact that, as the Syrian delegate pointed out:

"National liberation more than anything else is a sign of our time, for all eyes in the East or West to see. It, rather than the incidents of the cold war, is of greater effect and more enduring effect in international affairs."

PREVIEW FOR APRIL

50 actors, writers quizzed in N. Y.

A SUBCOMMITTEE of the House Un-American Activities Committee spent Feb. 6-7-8 in New York questioning some fifty actors, writers and musicians in closed hearings. Names of those questioned were not made public nor were any of them identified in the press.

Some witnesses were told to consider themselves under continuing subpena for public hearings April 9-10-11, probably in New York. The subcommittee of Reps. Clyde Doyle (D-Calif.), Donald L. Jackson (R-Calif.) and Morgan M. Moulder (D-Mo.) questioned witnesses on union activities, organizational connections and political views.

What page of the Times d'ya read?

"The voice of the civilizing France of long history was heard in the UN on Monday . . . The subject was Algeria, and M. Pineau's defense of France's position was reasonable and impressive. Algeria occupies a unique position . . . different from Indochina, Tunisia and Morocco . . . Those who take it for granted that . . . an Algerian . . . is ipso facto anti-French and for independence are quite wrong . . . It should not be forgotten that great numbers of Moslems lived and worked peacefully for generations with the French until the last two years, that they are deeply divided among themselves . . .

N. Y. **Times** editorial, 2/6.

●

"Algeria is French by conquest and colonization . . . More than 400,000 troops are trying to hold Algeria for France. She is the latest in a succession of powers that, starting 3,000 years ago, have tried to establish and keep dominion over the **846**,000 square miles of fertile Mediterranean coast, arid mountains and desert . . . French conquest of Algeria began in 1830. [Algeria's] population was and is Moslem Arab superimposed on the original Berbers . . . Like their predecessors, the new French rulers found that holding Algiers did not mean holding Algeria [and] they met resistance all along the way . . . It was during the Third Republic that [French] settlers wanted land. The Native Property Act of 1873 facilitated the transfer of communal lands to individual Europeans. Another great European stake in Algeria was thus established . . . The Nationalist movement in Algeria started in earnest after World War I. Repression on the ground of illegality failed to kill it during the Nineteen Twenties and Thirties. After World War II it came back stronger than ever, for this time it was part of a movement affecting subject peoples throughout the world."

—Henry Giniger from Paris
N.Y. **Times,** 2/6.

ONE YEAR IN THE FIGHT FOR FOREIGN BORN

Progress made; aim now for statue of limitations

The long fight for the rights of foreign born in America, begun against the Alien and Sedition laws of 1797, continues today in the campaign against the Walter-McCarran Inmmigration Law of 1952. Leading this fight is the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACPFB). Officers and supporters of the Committee were accorded a coast-to-coast inquisition in November and December by the House Un-American Activities Commitee, headed by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), co-author of the Walter-McCarran Law.

A bill introduced by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), H.R. 3364, concurred in by 27 other House Democrats, is the principal target of Rep. Walter. While the Celler Bill does not correct all that is wrong with the Walter-McCarran Law, amendments may be offered if public hearings are held and the Bill brought before the House for debate.

The ACPFB last week urged pressure for public hearings on the Celler Bill and announced a special campaign for a 5-year statute of limitations on the government's right to proceed against any foreign-born resident for deportation or denaturalization.

This campaign was decided upon at the 1956 national conference of the ACPFB held in Los Angeles in December. At this conference Abner Green, ACPEB national secretary, reported in detail on the progress of the fight for rights of foreign born. His report is excerpted below.

THE FEDERAL COURTS have shown a new sensitivity to the rights of foreign-born Americans.

NATURALIZED CITIZENS: Insofar as the rights of naturalized citizens are concerned, the U. S. Supreme Court held in the Zucca case that the Justice Dept. could not start denaturalization proceedings without first filing an affidavit of good cause.

As a result of this decision, the denaturalization proceedings against Mr. and Mrs. David Diamond were killed by the Federal District Court in Los Angeles and similar action in other cases is being given consideration by Federal courts in other parts of the country. In its decision in the Minker and Falcone cases, the Supreme Court held that the Justice Dept. has no right to question a naturalized citizen concerning his naturalization or citizenship.

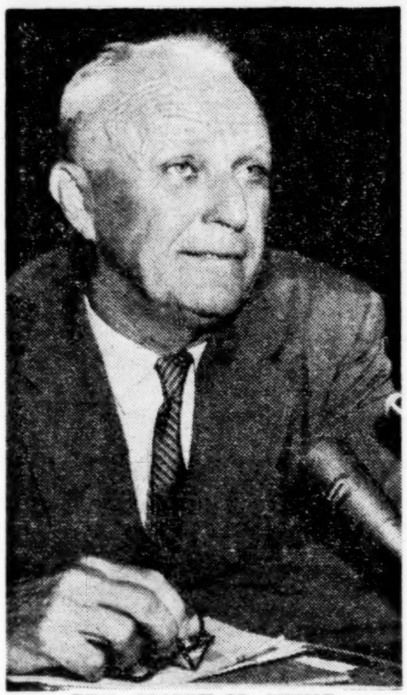
The most significant victory in denaturalization during the past year was achieved in the case of Rose Chernin, executive secretary of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. It is the only denaturalization case so far where the judge cancelled the proceedings after listening to all the evidence the government had to present.

NON-CITIZENS: The Federal courts are reflecting also changes in the public atmosphere insofar as the rights of non-citizens are concerned.

The U. S. Supreme Court has heard oral argument in the Rowoldt deportation case, in which one of the two points being considered is whether the Supreme Court was wrong in its 1954 decision in the Galvan case, when it sustained the constitutionality of the political deportation provisions of the Walter-McCarran Law.

In June, a Federal judge in Philadelphia granted a writ of habeas corpus in the case of Mrs. Stella Petrofsky because the Justice Dept. refused to turn over for examination the FBI reports of four witnesses who had testified against Mrs. Petrofsky in deportation hearings. It was Mrs. Petrofsky's contention that these FBI reports would show that the stool-pigeon witnesses lied when they testified against her. Since the Justice Dept. refused to submit the reports for examination, the court cancelled the deportation order.

SUPERVISORY PAROLE: Two court decisions this past year have rejected the Justice Dept.'s attempt to use the Walter-McCarran Law provisions for the supervision of deportees for purposes of harassing and persecuting them.



GEN. JOSEPH M. SWING
A military operation

In the Witkovich case, Federal District Couth Judge Sullivan of Chicago dismissed an indictment based on a refusal by a non-citizen to answer questions concerning his political beliefs or associations. Judge Sullivan held that the Justice Dept. had no legal right or constitutional right to ask those questions. The Department appealed Judge Sullivan's decision and on Oct. 8 the Supreme Court agreed to hear the Witkovich case. Argument will be heard Feb. 27.

In the Sentner case, a three-judge court in St. Louis held basic sections of the supervisory conditions unconstitutional. Most significant was the Court's holding as unconstitutional the Justice Dept.'s attempt to order non-citizens not to join so-called subversive organizations or associate with Communists or sympathizers of the Communist Party.

In both the Witkovich and Sentner decisions, the Federal courts rejected the Justice Dept.'s position and held that the Department has no right to interfere with the non-citizen's freedom and that the only purpose for supervision is to enable the Justice Dept. to be informed of the non-citizen's whereabouts in the event a passport is obtained to deport the non-citizen.

DEPORTATION: In deportation, there have been two significant developments. The first was in the case of a non-citizen resident of Philadelphia who was arrested for deportation in 1955, after he had refused to appear as a Justice Dept. witness against other non-citizens. Five years ago, there would have been little prospect of winning a case of this kind since the non-citizen had admitted membership in the Communist Party in 1936.

However, the Board of Immigration Appeals in November ordered that he be granted suspension of deportation on the ground that there is nothing in the law that "requires a former Communist who no longer subscribes to the principles of the Communist Party to actively oppose communism as a condition precedent to the grant of suspension of deportation."

Equally significant was the announcement Oct. 31 that the Immigration and Naturalization Service had adopted new regulations on the use of "confidential" information in deportation cases and that, in the future, non-citizens would be permitted to examine information against them except when "the most compelling reasons involving the national safety or security are present."

The Justice Dept. has started to relax its orders of supervision that required non-citizens to report monthly. In many parts of the country, non-citizens are now required to report annually or every six months.

NOT ALL GOOD: On the negative side of the picture is the Walter-McCarran Law treatment that continues to be accorded three million non-citizens, who have to report once a year to the Justice Dept., the police agency of the government, and who are subjected to all kinds of indignities solely because they happen not to be citizens of this country.

Part of the negative picture are the decisions by the Supreme Court in the Hyun case, where deportation was upheld even though the evidence was taken in Hawaii while David Hyun was in Los Angeles and not represented by counsel; and in the Jay case, where the Service was upheld in its refusal to grant suspension of deportation based on confidential information. Also, the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals in San Francisco in the Jiminez case, holding that the Service could deny suspension of deportation to a non-citizen on the sole ground that he had refused to answer all questions asked in the suspension proceedings. Also the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Cincinnati in the case of Mrs. Stefana Brown, of Detroit, who was sentenced to serve six months in jail for contempt of court because she refused to become an informer while testifying in her own defense in a denaturalization trial. The U.S. Supreme Court last month agreed to hear the appeal in the Brown case.

The Supreme Court decision in the Jay case had a positive side. Four Supreme Court justices spoke out in such vigorous condemnation of the Justice Dept.'s procedures that the Department was forced to amend its procedures on the use of "confidential" information.

GEN. SWING & FRIENDS: Under the present Commissioner, General Joseph M. Swing, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has been militarized in its thinking and in its operations. Top administrative offices in the Service are being taken over by retired generals whose thinking and attitudes are reflected by Service personnel at all levels. The Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization has been reported by the press as importing domestic workers from Mexico; placing members of his family in good government jobs; using government personnel and equipment to go on hunting trips to Mexico and Canada.

HANGOVERS: The Service continues to ignore democratic and humane standards in its treatment of the foreign born. Thousands of non-citizens and naturalized citizens are being approached and questioned in their homes, at their places of employment, and in the offices of the Service. At the same time, the Service is trying to broaden its subpoena power in an effort to further intimidate foreign-born Americans. We are now preparing for appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court the Budzileni case, in which the Court of Appeals in Chicago sustained the right of the Service to question a native-born citizen about the citizenship of a naturalized American.

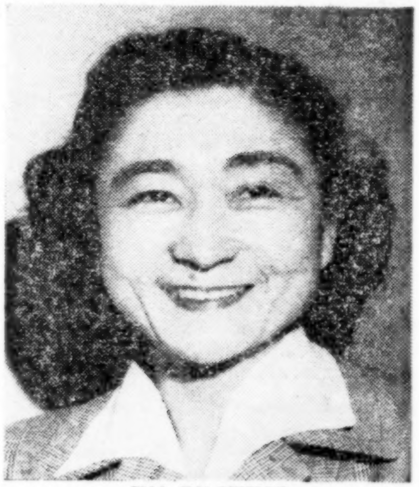
THE D'AQUINO CASE: While the general atmosphere has improved, the governmental operations initiated during the period of post-war hysteria continue to function in the full bureaucratic sense. More than 300 non-citizens still face deportation on political grounds. Knut Heikkinen, of Superior, Wis., faces the threat of ten years in jail at the age of 67—in reality, a death sentence—for failure to apply for a passport after being ordered deported. More than 50 American citizens are forced to defend their citizenship in the Federal courts. And, during the past year, a new wrinkle has been added in the case of Mrs. Iva d'Aquino, of San Francisco, incorrectly headlined as "Tokyo Rose".

The d'Aquino case rounds the circle and bears out the warnings enunciated by the ACPFB when the post-war deportation drive started, that it is not alone the rights of non-citizens that are at stake but the rights as well of native born and naturalized citizens.

Mrs. Iva d'Aquino has been arrested for deportation to Portugal although she was born in the U.S. and has never surrendered her nationality or citizenship.

MEXICAN VICTIMS: Perhaps the most serious disregard of human beings and human rights is to be observed in the operations of the Service in the Mexican-American communities of the U.S. The treatment of Mexican immigrants—as well as native-born Americans of Mexican descent—more than one million of whom were deported in 1954—is a shocking record of inhumanity.

In August, 1954, the Service started to use ships to transport Mexican deportees to the interior of Mexico. In September, Congressman Mollohan, of West Virginia, charged that the S.S. Mercurio, used to transport Mexican deportees, should have been disqualified under the 1882 law passed by Congress to protect immigrants traveling by steerage from Europe. The Mercurio did not meet these minimum 1882 standards. It had inadequate toilet, berthing and feeding facilities. It had leaking and inadequate lifeboats, corroded boilers and there was serious question as to its resistance to capsizing. Yet, more than 500 deportees were crowded onto the S.S. Mercurio on each trip.



IVA D'AQUINO
Born here but faces deportation

Some time ago, an investigating committee of the House condemned the Mercurio and called it a "hell ship." But in August, 1956, William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General, had the nerve to refer to the Mercurio deportations as a "delightful Caribbean cruise."

WHAT IS NEEDED: In considering the many issues facing us, one appears to be central and most inclusive. That is the need to achieve a statute of limitations in the immigration laws of the U.S.

A non-citizen may live in the U.S. 40 or 50 or 60 years and still face deportation from the country. This has not always been the case. The first political deportation law, passed in 1903, provided that a non-citizen could be deported only within three years of entry. Once a non-citizen lived here for three years, he could not be deported. It is only since the 1917 Immigration Act that a non-citizen could be deported for political reasons after three years in the country.

Today, under the Walter-McCarran Law, there are 700 grounds under which a non-citizen can be deported regardless of the length of time he or she may have lived in this country.

Some years ago, U.S. Judge Learned Hand said of this problem: "[This alien] knows no other language, no other people, no other habits than ours; he will be as much a stranger in Poland as anyone born of ancestors who immigrated in the 17th century. However heinous his crimes, deportation to him is exile, a dreadful punishment abandoned by the common consent of all civilized peoples."

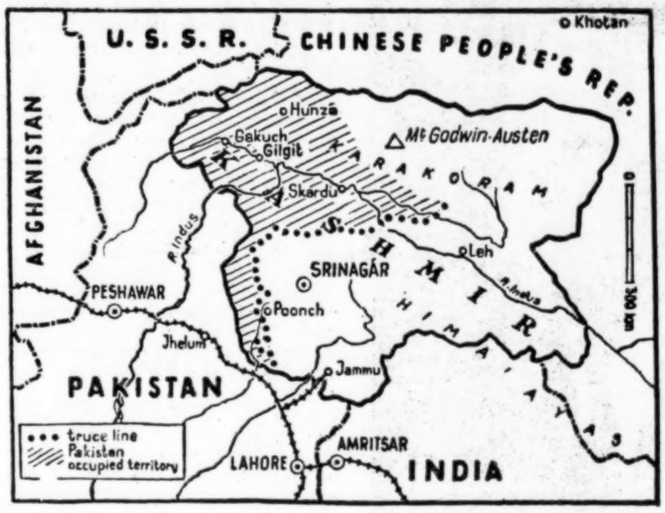
WHY INDIA AND PAKISTAN ARE AT ODDS

What's behind the Kashmir dispute

By Kumar Goshal

THE STRAINED relationship between India and Pakistan over the disputed territory of Kashmir reached an acute stage as the UN Security Council on Jan. 24 passed a resolution calling for a plebiscite in Kashmir under UN supervision. The India-Pakistan conflict was further aggravated when, two days later, on Indian Republic Day India and Kashmir ignored the UN resolution and Kashmir formally became an integral part of the Indian Union.

Britain planted the seeds of the conflict during her conquest when she set up several hundred large and small princedoms throughout India. A government spokesman called them "a series of friendly fortresses in debatable territory," to prevent the Indians from uniting against Britain. One of these princedoms was Kashmir in northern India, where the British placed a friendly Hindu ruler over a predominantly Moslem population.



BRITAIN'S BARGAIN: In 1947 Britain persuaded Indian nationalist leaders, including Nehru but not Gandhi, to accept the illogical partition of the subcontinent into India, with a Hindu majority, and Pakistan, with a Moslem majority. The princes were advised to join either India or Pakistan, irrespective of the religious beliefs of the population. This was the price exacted by Britain for quitting the Indian Empire.

The princely states quickly acceded to one or the other dominion, predominantly Hindu areas joining India and predominantly Moslem areas joining Pakistan. Kashmir, however, became a bone of contention between the two dominions.

Beautiful Kashmir, often likened to Switzerland, with an area of 84,471 square miles and a population of 4½ million, had developed a powerful nationalist movement during British rule, associated with the Indian National Congress party. Although the movement's leaders were Moslems, they preferred the secular government of free India rather than the theocratic Islamic government of Pakistan. Hindu-Moslem conflict has subsided in India, where today 40 million Moslems live peacefully with others, enjoying full equality under the Indian constitution.

WAR IN KASHMIR: Before Kashmir's ruler could make up his mind about joining either India or Pakistan, armed tribesmen from the Pakistani border attacked on Oct. 22, 1947. It was later admitted at the UN that the attack had Pakistan's support. The prince hastily joined his country to India and fled to New Delhi. The Indian army arrived and drove back the invaders, who had come within 33 miles of the capital, Srinagar. The Pakistan army joined the fight and, when a cease-fire went into effect, Pakistan held a third of Kashmir.

In 1948 the Indian delegation brought the issue before the UN, accusing Pakistan of aggression against a state that had already joined India. But by this time the international atmosphere had changed sharply and Kashmir had acquired a significance beyond the India-Pakistan dispute.

COLD WAR SECTOR: Kashmir shares a long border with China and Tibet, and its extreme northwest region is only a few miles from the Soviet border. Near this border Britain had built an air base in Gilgit, modernized by the U.S. during World War II. Washington and its allies, aware of the strategic location of Kashmir, had already begun to court Pakistan as India took tentative steps toward a policy of non-alignment. Under pressure of the U.S. and its allies, the UN twisted the issue from aggression by Pakistan, as India had contended, to Kashmir's right to join either India or Pakistan.

After an on-the-spot inquiry by a UN commission, which supported India's contention that Pakistan was an aggressor in Kashmir, the UN passed a resolution calling for withdrawal of Pakistani troops from Kashmir, the withdrawal of all Indian troops except those necessary for maintaining order, and a plebiscite to decide which dominion Kashmir wished to join. India, complaining that it was not a clear-cut decision based on her original accusation, nevertheless accepted the UN resolution. This was in 1948.

Neither the Pakistani nor Indian troops have yet withdrawn. Meanwhile, Pakistan has been drawn into the U.S.-sponsored South-East Asia Treaty Organization and has received extensive American military aid. India has contended that Pakistan's military build-up is directed against her and not against any threat from the U.S.S.R. or China, a menace which the Pakistan government, itself, has declared to be non-existent.

WASHINGTON'S STAKE: While Pakistan during the past eight years has periodically brought up the issue before the UN, the Kashmir nationalist movement, after deposing the prince, has established a stable government, elected a constituent assembly, and decided to become an integral part of India. This integration was formalized on Jan. 26.

Pakistan still contends that predominantly Moslem Kashmir should join its Moslem neighbor, and that a UN-supervised plebiscite would support such a move. India still contends that Britain's parting directive in 1947 left the choice of accession to the princely states irrespective of religious bias, and that the Kashmir ruler's decision to join India was binding, especially since India had established a secular government. To Pakistan, the issue still is Kashmir's allegiance; to India, the issue is Pakistan's aggression against Kahmir, after it had already become a part of India.

Behind the controversy is Washington's global policy of encircling the Soviet Union and China. India's policy of non-alignment with military blocs has evidently influenced her decision to formalize Kashmir's accession, in order to prevent its becoming in effect a SEATO base of operations.

A peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue and India-Pakistan amity would seem to depend on an over-all East-West understanding, rather than on "strange UN resolutions,' as Nehru said, prompted by "military alliances" and aggravated by U.S. "dumping arms and ammunition" in Pakistan.

The day Foster Dulles put his foot in the reporters' mouths

SECY. OF STATE John Foster Dulles held a remarkable press conference on Feb. 5. Nearly half the time was consumed by a discussion of the right of U. S. correspondents to visit China. Pelted by questions from all sides, Dulles shifted his ground several times, but his footwork was faulty. At the end, the issue remained more beclouded than ever.

Asked about his "philosophy about the policy of denying access to reporters in China," Dulles said that Peking has made the unacceptable proposition of allowing U. S. newsmen "it picked" to come into China in exchange for the release of 10 Americans now detained there. When asked if Washington would allow a correspondent not "picked" by Peking to visit China, Dulles avoided a direct answer. He said he could not "conceive of any American correspondent going to Communist China against the wishes" of Peking.

A REMINDER: Another reporter pointed out that newspapers "were denied the right to send a correspondent even before the present situation existed." Dulles said he was "not aware that any correspondents tried to go to China before that time." Portland (Me.) **Press-Herald** correspondent May Craig reminded him that columnist Joseph Alsop, N. Y. **Post** writer Doris Fleeson and she herself had asked State Dept. permission two years ago to go; they were refused on the ground that, having no diplomatic relations with Peking, the U. S. could afford them no protection in China. Mrs. Craig asked if that ground still remained valid. Dulles said that "the issuance of passports to a regime which is not recognized is something which is never done" by the U. S.

NEWS TO PEKING: Washington correspondent Neal Stanford (**Christian Science Monitor,** 2/6) found that "reports out of Peking do not confirm" Dulles' statement regarding exchange of prisoners for correspondents. "Only last week," Stanford said, the Chinese government said it would "free the 10 Americans" in exchange for the "30 Chinese in U. S. jails;" that Chinese Premier Chou En-lai had said in Calcutta that "release of the 10 Americans had nothing to do with any U. S. government attitude but depended entirely upon the good behavior of the prisoners."

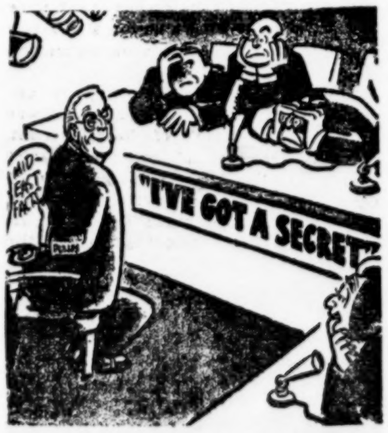
James Reston (**N. Y. Times,** 2/7) noted that in 1950, when Peking banned correspondents from countries refusing to recognize the Chinese People's Republic, the U. S. State Dept. condemned the action as an effort "to blot out completely objective reporting of developments" on the China mainland. Reston also disclosed that **Times** correspondents in the past "have traveled through several countries normally forbidden to U. S. citizens."

JUST AIN'T SO: The **Times** (2/7) editorially criticized Dulles' "gratuitous remarks about American correspondents and their newspapers that were uncalled for." The editorial said "it was not true" that Peking "picked the correspondents it wanted to come to China." The four **Times** men ready to go were picked by the **Times** itself. The editorial also noted that **Times** men have been blocked by the State Dept. for two years from going. The editorial reminded Dulles that "this newspaper and others kept correspondents in Moscow for years . . . before we recognized the Soviet regime."

The N. Y. **Post** (2/7) called Dulles' statement "astonishingly devious, belated and contradictory."

At his Feb. 6 press conference President Eisenhower said Dulles' report of the purported Peking "deal" was news to him.

Despite the heckling, Dulles' press conference ended on a lofty note. A correspondent asked him how he felt about the President's description of him as having "a wisdom and knowledge perhaps unmatched in the world today."



San Francisco Chronicle

Dulles replied: "Well, it makes you feel pretty good when a person with the wisdom and experience of President Eisenhower says a thing like that about you. It makes your heart warm."

Worthy's back

WILLIAM WORTHY Jr., a reporter who went to China despite a U. S. State Dept. ban, came home Feb. 10 by way of Moscow and Budapest. He had refused to surrender his passport to U. S. consular authorities in Budapest.

While in China, Worthy, correspondent for the Baltimore **Afro-American,** had also written for the N. Y. **Post** and broadcast for the Columbia Broadcasting System. On his return he said he had defied the State Dept. ban on travel to China to gather news freely as well as to maintain the principle of the right to travel. At the Boston airport, where he landed from Europe, Immigration officials cleared him promptly but did not stamp the customary word "admitted" and the date on his passport. He planned to return to Harvard to finish his studies as a Nieman Fellow.

A test seemed to be shaping up for March 4, when his passport will be two years old and void unless renewed. Meanwhile, Worthy planned to consult his lawyer, Rowland Watts, who is associated with the American Civil Liberties Union.

Crooked—but 100%

A THIEF who had stolen a suitcase in Grand Central Station telephoned the FBI to confess his crime. The bag, it seems, was full of blueprints and official looking information, possibly military secrets, which he had not intended to steal.

"I've checked it in one of the public lockers," he told the agent on the phone, "and I'm mailing you the key. I'm a thief. But I'm a loyal American thief."

—**Christian Science Monitor**

AFL-CIO Story

(Continued from Page 1)

be fairer than any other. But Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (which Joe McCarthy made notorious when he headed it) had the jump. He said his group was "the best equipped" and that his investigators had already dug up considerable evidence.

First on tap for any probe was the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters, biggest affiliate of the AFL-CIO with nearly a million and a half members. Einar Mohn, vice-president and executive assistant to president Dave Beck, argued that any investigation should be conducted by the Labor Committee. For a time it seemed he had the backing of the high command on this. But when the pinch came, the Teamsters stood alone in their challenge to the McClellan committee's authority.

BECK NOT ON CALL: The McClellan group opened hearings on Jan. 16 and called as its first witnesses Mohn; Frank Brewster, head of the Western States Conference of Teamsters; Nugent LaPoma, head of a Seattle Teamster local; and a recording secretary of a New York Teamster local. In addition, it called four persons from a New York local of the Allied Industrial Workers (formerly the United Auto Workers-AFL) which has been cited as having connections with Johnny Dio, now under indictment in the acid-blinding of labor columnist Victor Riesel.

In executive session the Teamster officials refused to talk on the ground that the McClellan committee lacked jurisdiction. The attorney for the West Coast leaders said that "when a properly constituted body has been constituted by the Senate, we will be perfectly willing to give them all the information or evidence they want." Meantime the Washington headquarters of the Teamsters wired all executive board members urging them to approve this policy.

Mohn was called back on Jan. 18 but declined to give the committee more than his name and address. Beck, just returned from a trip to Europe, had promised to appear that day but wired from Seattle that he was too ill to travel. When witnesses continued to balk the next day, McClellan angrily suspended further hearings and directed that the four Teamster officials be cited for contempt.

DAVE BECK
If a Congressman answers—hang up

RESPECTABILITY: By that time inner AFL-CIO rivalries began to show. With the Teamsters on the spot, other leaders made a show of pious respectability. Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers' executive board adopted a resolution urging the AFL-CIO executive council "to authorize an appropriate Congressional committee to conduct a thorough and exhaustive investigation into corruption in labor racketeering in all phases of American life and to expose without fear or favor corruption in labor, in industry and all other aspects of the problem."

EINAR MOHN
Name, rank and serial number

The UAW also urged the Council to pledge full cooperation to any such committee. James B. Carey's Intl. Union of Electrical Workers went further; it adopted a code providing that any officer invoking the Fifth Amendment in a Congressional probe would automatically go on trial within the union and face possible expulsion. Said Carey: "We do not look with any more favor on professed union leaders who wrap themselves in the Fifth Amendment to dodge questions about racketeering than we do on those who use the Amendment to evade questions about the political corruption of communism."

The Teamsters stood firm and announced that none of its people would be disciplined for invoking their Constitutional rights. But Meany said he was "very much concerned" and would make the issue the "first order of business" at the Council's meeting.

MEANY DOCTRINE: By Jan. 30 the Senate, acting with unusual speed, had set up a special eight-man bipartisan committee with a broad mandate to conduct a year-long investigation of racketeering "in the field of labor-management relations." McClellan was made chairman.

In addition to McClellan, Democrats on the committee are Sam. J. Ervin (N.C.), John F. Kennedy (Mass.) and Pat McNamara (Mich.). Republicans are Joe McCarthy (Wisc.), Karl Mundt (S.D.), Irving M. Ives (N.Y.) and Barry Goldwater (Ariz.). Of the lot, only two can be considered friendly to labor: McNamara and Kennedy.

It was against this background that the Council adopted the Meany doctrine "that if a trade union official decides to invoke the Fifth Amendment for his personal protection and to avoid scrutiny by proper legislative committees, law enforcement agencies or other public bodies into corruption on his part, he has no right to continue to hold office in his union."

LABOR'S WITCH-HUNT: In addition, the Council adopted two other "codes of ethics," one of which lays down somewhat belated ground rules for the administration of union welfare funds. The other is a catch-all and links "racketeers, crooks, communists and fascists" and says:

". . . the fact that a person has refrained from formally becoming a member of the Communist Party or a fascist organization should not permit him to hold or retain a position of respectability or leadership in the trade union movement if, regardless of formal membership, he consistently supports or actively participates in the activities of the Communist Party or any fascist totalitarian organization." With this code, the labor movement has adopted the government's own definition of a "security risk."

Although Beck was too ill to appear in Washington, he turned up in Miami Beach three days later and was on hand long enough to cast the lone vote against the Meany doctrine on the Fifth Amendment. He said: "It is 100% wrong. It will come back to haunt the labor movement . . . I think the Fifth Amendment is indivisible. You can't circumscribe the Constitutional right. If it isn't right, then take the Fifth Amendment out of the Constitution. . . I object to crucifying our people, no matter what price I or our organization may have to pay. Bad publicity doesn't mean anything to me. I've been having it for 40 years, and our organization is bigger and stronger than ever."

TOUGH TEAMSTERS: As for the threat of suspension for defiance of the new doctrine, Beck said: "They can review what we do if they don't think we are right. They cannot tell us what to do, but they can suspend us. If the AFL-CIO doesn't want us in, we don't want to be in." Other Teamster officials were more specific; they indicated that henceforth unions deemed hostile to the IBT can expect no help in strike situations. For many a union, the powerful Teamsters can make or break a strike by respecting or ignoring a picket line.

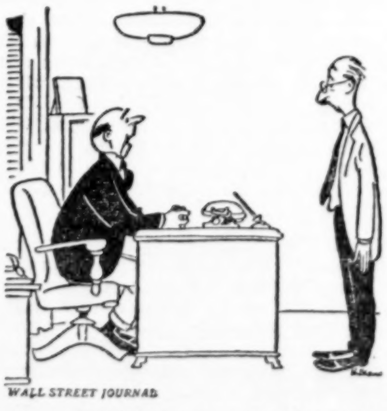
Sen. McClellan was happy: "I applaud and congratulate the Council for the action it has taken."

Beck himself didn't last out the Council sessions. He quietly disappeared, but was discovered by newsmen in Nassau. On Feb. 7, when he had promised to be available for questioning in Washington, he flew to London, gave no indication when he would return. But Teamster's vice-president James R. Hoffa said in Miami that his union would pay no attention to the new codes and remarked that it would take lawyers two weeks to find out what they mean.

ACLU PROTESTS: Few voices were raised in protest or warning against the new turn the U.S. labor movement had taken. One, surprisingly, was that of a Republican, Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen Jr. (N.J.), who declared that automatic dismissal of a union officer for exercising "his constitutional privileges" would be depriving him of due process of law. The American Civil Liberties Union made the same point in a wire to Meany saying that "automatic dismissal" of a union officer for invoking the Fifth Amendment would not be "in keeping with due process, and leads to the conclusion that invoking of the privilege per se is proof of untrustworthiness."

Henry Mayer, a former assistant district attorney and now counsel for several unions, said in a letter to the N.Y. **Times** that to make a union officer "automatically removable simply because 'he took the Fifth' is a deprivation of due process, particularly unpardonable in trade unions, the traditional defenders of civil liberties . . . The Bill of Rights resulted from the expenditure of much blood, sweat and tears. It should not be watered down simply because of a public hue and cry which is so easily raised when any powerful labor group is involved."

ONE JAUNDICED EYE: Carl Stellato, president of the big UAW Ford local in Detroit, was one of the few labor leaders to speak up. He said: "If, as it is alleged, racketeering does exist in some levels of the labor movement, I am quite certain labor can clean its own house. And labor certainly looks with jaundiced eye when the enemies of labor try to do the job for us. We will be opposed to a 'labor investigating Roman Holiday' which is so characteristic of anything Sen. McCarthy has a hand in."



WALL STREET JOURNAL

"After obesrving your work with us for the past 22 years, Hansen, I'm afraid you're not what we're looking for!"

Towards the end of the Council meeting in Miami three unions—the Distillery Workers, the Laundry Workers and the Allied Industrial Workers—were found to be "dominated, controlled and substantially influenced by corrupt influence." They were given 90 days to clean up or get out. The Intl. Chemical Workers Union made a sudden flurry by "seizing" a small N.Y. local a little too late: the officers had disappeared and the books had been destroyed; it had exactly 25 workers under contract.

In its preoccupation with purity, the Council left untouched major problems threatening to tear the AFL-CIO apart. Jurisdictional disputes were left unsettled as the powerful Building Trades Dept. (backed by the Teamsters) reorganized itself for war against the Industrial Unions Dept., headed by Walter Reuther. Failure of most state AFL and CIO bodies to merge went unremedied. The biggest problem of all, organization of the unorganized, was left for inadequate attention as the last item on the agenda while members fidgeted to head home.

20th CONVENTION

Lawyers Guild meets Feb. 21-24

THE National Lawyers Guild will hold its 20th anniversary convention Feb. 21-24 at the Ambassador Hotel in New York City. Malcolm P. Sharp, guild president, who is a law professor at the University of Chicago, said the convention expected 900 delegates from the U.S. and Hawaii.

Speakers at the various panel meetings include: Judge Hubert T. Delany, Osmond K. Fraenkel, J. Raymond Walsh, John T. McTernan, Mary Van Kleeck, Charles E. Ford, John M. Coe, Frances Levenson, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson and Prof. Louis H. Pollak, both of the Yale Law School. Harold A. Cranefield, general counsel to the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, will speak on labor legislation.

The program will include conferences on: Problems Facing the Young Lawyer in the Practice of Law Today, Civil Rights and Liberties, Due Process of Law, Integration—North and South, Role of the Lawyer and Independence of the Bar, and Social Welfare and Labor Legislation.

"In the second decade of the guild's existence," Sharp said, "the country entered a time marked by suppression of constitutional liberties in an attempt to impose conformity in politics, economics and social matters. . . . The Guild through all these years has defended the Bill of Rights, and particularly the right of any individual to express any opinion on any public question however it may challenge the existing order. This has offended some people in power who have sought to intimidate the Guild by the charge of 'subversive.' We take our stand with Prof. Henry Steele Commager, who warned: 'A nation that silences or intimidates original minds is left only with unoriginal minds, and cannot hope to hold its own in the competition of peace or of war'."

A cop-less America

FRESNO, Feb. 2—President Eisenhower's proposed civil rights program "would put the police out of business," Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker declared here yesterday.

Speaking to the California Peace Officers Association, Parker said he opposed a proposal to establish a Federal commission to investigate alleged civil rights violations by local law enforcement agencies.

Such action would give aid to Communists who know they cannot force a revolution when faced with a "resolute police force," Parker said.

Los Angeles **Mirror-News**, 2/2

OPIUM TO FREEDOM

Israel Epstein's new short history of China

PRESIDENT Eisenhower's continuing refusal to recognize the existence of the People's Republic of China has placed him in the ludicrous position of a little boy who stubbornly denies the existence of the Himalayan mountains. This refusal has failed to halt the spread of Peking's prestige and influence throughout the world.

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's recent tour of Southeast Asia strengthened the ties, first established at Bandung, between China and her neighbors. His Eastern European tour to help maintain the unity of the socialist countries was evidence of China's growing stature in international affairs.

There are indications that Peking is increasingly setting the pace for the economic development of Asian countries. Asians were impressed by the Jan. 13 report of the Colombo Plan's Consultative Committee. (Organized in 1950, the Colombo Plan is designed to help the economic development of Southeast Asian countries with the assistance of the British Commonwealth, Japan and the U.S.). The report stated that, despite aid from the economically advanced members of the Plan, Southeast Asian countries were lagging far behind China in modernizing industry and agriculture.

CHANGING MOOD: Even the Arabs living in tents in remote villages in the Middle East understand China's significance. Through broadcasts over their communal radios they have learned of trade pacts many Middle Eastern countries have signed with China.

The desire of U.S. correspondents to visit China and the eagerness of some leading American industrialists to resume the China trade also seem to indicate growing American skepticism over Washington's anti-Peking propaganda. Two weeks ago Henry Ford II urged resumption of trade with China. "Few foreign-policy statements" **Newsweek** reported (2/11), "have kicked up as much interest on Capitol Hill as the suggestion" by Ford.

DRAMATIC SURVEY: In view of the misinformation—and growing interest—there is obviously a great need now for a simple, short, up-to-date book on China, relating the essentials of Chinese history for non-Chinese readers. Israel Epstein's **From Opium War to Liberation*** fills this need with considerable success.

DR. SUN YAT-SEN
Freedom was his goal.

Epstein is no stranger to GUARDIAN readers. He is unusually qualified to write about China. He grew up in China, became fluent in the Chinese language, worked for the Peking & Tientsin **Times** as well as the N.Y. **Times** and **Time** and **Life** magazines.

His book gives a rapid survey of the dramatic events in China from 1840 to 1949: the introduction of opium into China by the Western imperialist powers to get the silver with which to pay for the Chinese goods they bought for the European market; the gradual intervention in China's internal affairs by the Western powers, including the U.S., and their division of China into "spheres of influence"; the various peasant uprisings and an analysis of why they failed; the growth of the anti-feudal, national liberation movement under Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the rise of the Communist Party under such leaders as Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh and Chou En-lai; the war with Japan and the role played by Chiang Kai-shek and the Western powers, especially the U.S.; and the establishment of the People's Republic of China at the end of 1949.

WESTERN ROLE: Western readers will learn of compatriots who played a deplorable role in Chinese history, and of many who had an honorable part. For example, in the Taiping Revolution (1850-1865) several Englishmen and French army men, an Italian and the Sardinian Major Moreno served as volunteers with the Chinese revolutionaries. During the Boxer uprising (1899-1901), Mark Twain warmly defended the Boxers and satirized the Western "defenders of civilization" who called for a crusade against them.

From Opium War to Liberation does not pretend to be a definitive survey. Its purpose is to acquaint the reader with the main currents of China's history.

Readers whose appetite to know more about China will undoubtedly be whetted by this book, can profitably follow up with Epstein's earlier **The Unfinished Revolution in China** (Little, Brown & Co., Boston); Julian Schuman's **Assignment China** (Whittier Books, Inc., 31 Union Sq., N.Y.) and Agnes Smedley's **The Great Road** (Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., N.Y.).

THE 600 MILLION: Meanwhile, this new book will give the reader a glimpse of the Chinese Revolution which, as the author says, "liberated some 600 million people from foreign control by giving them national independence after a century of subjection; from constant internal warfare by giving them peace and unity; . . . from hopelessness by liberating their vast productive potential of the people and enabling them to work for themselves; from family oppression by making women the equals of men; from ignorance and illiteracy by opening the doors to education; from humiliation by giving them dignity."

The book has an index and a valuable "Note on New Chinese Historical Writings Available in English."

—Kumar Goshal

**FROM OPIUM WAR TO LIBERATION, by Israel Epstein. 146 pp. New World Press, Peking. Available in the U.S. from Imported Publications and Products, 4 W. 16th St., New York 3.*

ADVERTISEMENT

Notes from Liberty

THIS COLUMN is the first of a series which the editors of Liberty Book Club hope will find favor with **Guardian** readers. We'll seek to offer discussions of interest to those who value a free press in books as well as in newspapers on subjects which will add to our knowledge, perhaps, of the issues; on subjects which will bring news of writers around the world whose work is treasured by **Guardian** readers; and on literary questions having direct or indirect bearing on a free press. We hope these columns will be found worth reading for themselves, and we hope they will serve to interest you in our book club. It has been the opinion of the editors of the club, as well as that of the editors of your paper, that the family resemblance between **Liberty Book Club** and the **Guardian** is worthy of your special notice.

Next week we will run a large ad in your paper to describe the club.

Perhaps we may begin with a piece of intelligence which will interest and at the same time give additional sense of pride to the supporters of the **National Guardian.** A few months ago we ran a full page advertisement* in the **New York Times Book Review** for Liberty Book Club. The **Times Book Review** (circulation is 1,250,000 copies) is the standard of other book reviewing media of the country. The ad, which some readers of this column may have seen, based its appeal on the fact that Liberty was a book club for the independent reader with books offered in the spirit of Voltaire, seeking to air controversy rather than suppress it, for neither incantation nor recantation can set aside the controversies of our time. We obtained only 106 new members from that ad.

The last time we ran a display ad in the **Guardian** we received 126 subscribers from a readership of only a fraction of the size and from an ad of two columns only. The ratio of interest in an independent book club among **Guardian** readers, compared to those of the **Times**, weighting the experiment from both the relative subscription list and the size of the ad, worked out on our slide rule as follows: readers of the **National Guardian** have a bit more than 99 times the interest in a free press than that shown by the readers of the **New York Times Book Review**.

The difference is massive, 99 to 1. We hope this interest will grow as you become more aware of a book club which both we and the editors of the **National Guardian** feel has a real family resemblance, in the book field, to your favorite newspaper.

The Editors
Liberty Book Club

*Anyone interested in seeing a copy of the **New York Times** ad is welcome to a free copy merely by writing Angus Cameron or Carl Marzani, Liberty Book Club, 100 West 23 Street, New York 11, N.Y.

EVENING IN THE THEATER

Sean O'Casey

By James Aronson

IT HAS BEEN A GOOD SEASON on Broadway; it has been a better one off. For the golden chains that bar the stage doors uptown to Shaw and Shakespeare and Chekhov and Ibsen—and to the new young ones who refuse to write cliché-ridden lyrics for the musical theater—these chains are down on Second Avenue and in Greenwich Village.

Oh, you can get your dark psychology and your strange ones on Broadway and off; but if it's laughter in the theater that you want, and people who sing of life, and writing that makes you want to sing yourself, then it's Sean O'Casey's **Purple Dust** for you at the Cherry Lane Theater, on Commerce Street in the Village.

This is a lark of a play, a grand farce without the politics of the earlier O'Casey, but with a symbolism and a sharp and steady eye on human foibles more effective than most dramas of ideas. O'Casey is hard to play. He says himself: "There is the curiously unfamiliar method in the plays; no one, not even the dramatist, knowing what may happen next." But the **Purple Dust** cast at the Cherry Lane plays with understanding and love, and if a bit is off here and there, and the small size of the theater hampers the scope of the jest, then it may be O'Casey's doing himself, because his inventiveness and imagination soar beyond the limitations of a physical theater that has not kept up with him.

THIS PLAY WAS WRITTEN in 1938. It was not published till 1940, and not even played until late in 1944, in Boston. It kicked off a violent storm in England, because its central figures are two absurd Englishmen who arrive in Ireland with their Irish mistresses to restore to its glory—and way of life—a mouldering Tudor mansion fit for pigs. O'Casey was accused of attacking England when she was in the throes of a terrible war. Not so, says O'Casey; every Irishman in England was in the throes of the same war.

The play is not an attack on England, he says, not even on any particular class in the country: it is a "laughing comment on the mind of many English, rich and poor; a mind represented as having crystallized (by its domination through the centuries over others) into the rigid and icy belief that everything done, everything planned, must be just the things for the good of others; and that when England fights, then war and righteousness hath kissed each other."

He doesn't spare his Irish in the play either. His ladies are grasping, and his hero, O'Killigain, is a bit of a strutter. Two of his Irish workmen who come to patch the mansion, scratching their heads at the madness, are not above attempting to pull the feathers over the Englishmen in a deal for chickens; and the third, the romantic nationalist, is given to flights of rhetorical fancy that would send the tears pouring down the brass rails of any Dublin pub. And who indeed can help being carried away with Philib O'Dempsey when, angry at being called a fool by one of the Englishmen, he barks:

"Comin' over here, thinkin' that all the glory an' grandeur of the world, an' all the might of man, was stuffed into a bulgin' purse, an' stickin' your tongue out at a race that's oldher than themselves by a little like a thousand years, greater in their beginnin' than they are in their prime; with us speakin' with ayse the mighty languages o' the world when they could barely gurgle a few sounds, sayin' the rest in the movement of their fingers . . . Hammerin' out handsome golden ornaments for flowin' cloak and tidy tunic we were, while you were busy gathering' dhried grass, an' dyin' it blue, to hide the consternation of your middle parts. . ."

THERE'S PLENTY OF LOW COMEDY in **Purple Dust,** a song here, a bit of a dance; but underlying the whole play is the symbol of change, the passing of the old, and the right—even the necessity—of the people who have come after to seek out their own ways to their destiny, and to hell with the shackles of the past and the conformist philosophy against change.

O'Casey is played rarely enough. And the playwright says he thinks he knows one reason why: "Perhaps [the plays] foolishly pause in the midst of a song, dance or slapstick to give a lash with a satirical whip." It was too much for the Lord Chamberlains and the censors in Boston (he forgave Boston because it was Emerson's cradle) and for leftists with blinders who must have the line without laughter.

But no one can live without laughter, and O'Casey's is too rich and roaring to have it confined to the written word. Hear it spoken at the Cherry Lane and come out laughing yourself. It won't hurt at all.

• • •

The GUARDIAN has a Theater Night for "Purple Dust", Wednesday evening, March 13. Tickets are $5.50. Call OR 3-3800, or fill out the coupon on p. 11.

Cuba story

(Continued from Page 1)

In the eastern provinces of Cuba the toll of what is now called "bloody Christmas" was at least 21 dead. Seven of the victims were Communists; the others were members of the liberal Autenticos, led by Ramon Grau Sañ Martin, or followers of the rebel student leader Fidel Castro, who has been fighting a guerrilla action in the hills.

When newsmen gathered at the headquarters of Col. Fermin Cowley Gallego, chief of the Holguin military district, all questions were referred to Cuba's President and Commander-in-chief Fulgencio Batista, who presumably took full responsibility.

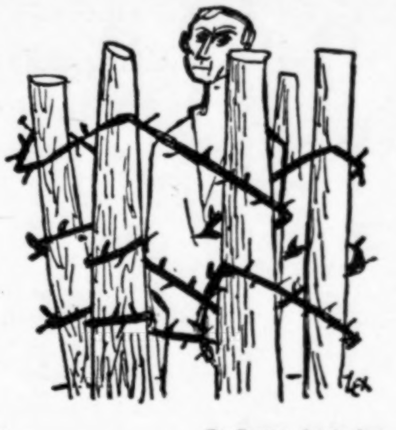
On Dec. 26, all work stopped at the Delicias sugar mill and hundreds of men and women marched in the funeral procession for Alejo and Hector. As they filed past guards armed with machine guns, the marchers shouted: "Murderers" . . . "Casanova the murderer" . . . "Pay for your crimes." Christmas decorations were taken down. There were no fiestas.

In Holguin as a tobacco workers' organizer Jesus Feliu was buried, an old man who fought for Cuba's freedom from Spain flung himself on the body and shouted: "Not even Spain did this."

MARTIAL LAW: Cuban newspapers reported in guarded terms the grisly discovery of bodies. Some editorially assailed the victims as "terrorist" but, like the Havana **El Crisol,** also criticized "the brutal and insane repression that ignores superior orders and laws of the country."

Between Christmas and New Year's Day five more men in Santa Clara were taken from their homes and killed. Hundreds have disappeared and are being hunted throughout eastern Cuba. Some 200 are reported in prisons in Holguin and Santiago and an unknown number held incommunicado in Havana.

The island is under martial law. Little news comes out except what is filtered through censors. A N.Y. **Times** editorial (1/31) titled "What is Wrong With Cuba?" summed up: "Foreign correspondents must submit their copy to censors who are being very strict. Even background to stories is taboo. Letters are opened, coming and going. Telephone conversations are monitored and correspondents dare not speak freely. American newspapers going into Cuba are examined by censors in advance to be sure there is no information considered dangerous. In addition, all Cuban newspapers and magazines are, of course, closely censored."



De Groene, Amsterdam

AN ANGRY MOOD: Manifestos by the Popular Socialist Party (Communist) and others have called for converting into action the unity accomplished in blood (since all factions of the Batista opposition are represented in the casualty lists.) There was no sign yet of an organized movement. But the island's mood is angry and Cubans have a tradition of death struggles. Their national anthem has this line: "To die for the fatherland is to live."

President Batista, who seized power in a 77-minute palace coup in 1952, seemed to be facing his most difficult hours in his island powder keg. Though backed by the U.S. as a "free-world bastion" and supported by a brisk flow of U.S. investments, the Cuban regime has been plagued by strikes in the sugar fields and on the college campuses. Sugar workers clamor for wage raises. Students want democratic rights. Unionists demand removal of the government-imposed piecards and free elections. The press has objected to the censor. And all factions have been outraged by the graft of officials and the brutality of the police.

Since Dec. 2, when Fidel Castro, the student leader who has vowed Batista's destruction, landed in Oriente province from a yacht, there has been open warfare in the Sierra Maestra hills. It has tended to fuse with the strike movements in the cane fields.

THE TWO TOUCHSTONES

Why Haiti is in turmoil

ACROSS the narrow stretch of the Caribbean from embattled Cuba, the Republic of Haiti was undergoing severe but less bloody convulsions. When Dictator Paul Magloire yielded to popular demand and a 100% general strike and left the country on Dec. 13, Chief Justice Nemours Joseph Pierre-Louis took over as provisional president, according to the Haitian constitution. He was to serve until elections in April. Seven politicians entered the field.

Haitian politics has two touchstones: the ancient fight of the desperately poor Negro majority against the mulato aristocracy, and personal ambitions. Each of the candidates rallied his own following into a party. Sen. Louis Dejoie and Dr. Francois Duvalier, who seems to have the strongest support among the Negroes, emerged as the leading contenders.

ANOTHER STRIKE: Both were attempting to ride a mounting demand for reforms in the graft-ridden officialdom installed by Magloire. Pierre-Louis, who saw himself limited by his constitutional authority as an interim president, attempted no clean-up. On Feb. 1, Pierre-Louis' cabinet, made up mainly of Dejoie and Duvalier partisans, resigned in a body. On Feb. 3 another general strike, encouraged by the two leading candidates, tied up the island and Pierre-Louis resigned.

According to the constitution the presidency should go to the next in seniority on the Supreme Court bench. But the next two in line had served in Pierre Louis' cabinet and so are ineligible. After them comes Jean Baptiste Cineas, who seems unpopular.

THE NEXT MOVE: On Feb. 6, while the Assembly met in the Legislative Palace in Port-au-Prince to try to find a way out of the developing political shambles, some 3,000 demonstrators gathered. They were repeatedly repulsed by riot squads, armored cars and firehoses. In the end they dispersed only after appeals by Dr. Duvalier and another candidate popular with the island workers, Prof. Daniel Fignole.

Inside the palace the legislators wound up a day of wrangling by electing Franck Sylvain to the provisional presidency. A constitutional lawyer, he resigned his candidacy for the April elections in order to take the interim post. Sen. Dejoie did not attend the session and was known to oppose the move. The forecast was for continued instability.

What seemed to be shaping up was a move by the leading political contenders to join forces in an interim administration that could begin the promised clean-up. It was too soon to say whether any of the forces surging out of Haiti's confusion could hold solutions for a country wracked by poverty (the average annual wage is $65), and years of soil-depleting agricultural exploitation; with insufficient roads, electricity or water supply; living at the mercy of U. S. coffee importers and tourists.

Innkeepers complained noisily that the country was in turmoil right in the middle of the carnival—and tourist—season.

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Will imprison you,
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Chicago

FILM FORUM—Chicago's only Soviet film outlet. Special show for children 7-70: "Chuck & Gek" (the classic children's story) & "In the Circus Arena" (color spectacle), Fri., Feb. 22, Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted, 8 p.m. Sun., Feb. 24, Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt, 3 p.m. Adm. 90c.

Minneapolis

Twin Cities Labor Forum **"IN DEFENSE OF CIVIL RIGHTS"**. Speakers: Arthur Sternberg, civil rights lawyer; Mrs. Alma Foley, Minn. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m., Labor Temple, Hall B4, 115 S.E. 4th St., Mpls. Contrib. 25c, Proceeds to Rowoldt Case. Ausp: Twin Cities Labor Forum.

San Francisco

CALIF. LABOR SCHOOL CLASSES
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PSYCHOLOGY LECTURES by Dr. Harry Steinmetz, clinical psychologist: 8 p.m., Fri., Feb. 22, "Responsibility For Our Children; Sun., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. "Compatibility in Marriage." 321 Divisadero St.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"COURT MARTIAL,"** Feb. 16. A dramatic thunderbolt directed by Anthony Asquith and starring David Niven and Margaret Leighton. Taut and tense but sprinkled with priceless humor. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week **"KAMERADSCHAFT"** (Germany).

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We are having a social **"GET-TOGETHER"** for couples on Sat., Feb. 23, in our apt. Purpose? To get acquainted with other couples. For invitation call HIckory 6-0569.

Reserve this date for **A SALUTE TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE,** Thurs, Feb. 28, 8:30 p.m. 150 W. 85 St. Hear Dr. W.E.B. DuBois on "The Negro People, American Democracy, and Socialism." Proceeds to Montgomery Improvement Assoc. Sponsor: WEST SIDE CITIZENS FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM.

TWO MAINSTREAM FORUMS

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JOSEPH STAROBIN
Ex-Foreign Editor, **Daily Worker,** on "The Future of American Radicalism."

Friday, March 1, 8 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.). Contrib: $1. Auspices, **American Socialist.**

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In commemoration of **NEGRO HISTORY WEEK** the Militant Labor Forum presents: **WALK TO FREEDOM,** a film showing the magnificent fight against segregation conducted by the Montgomery Freedom. Fighters. Also: "A Century of Struggle for Equality, North and South." Speaker: Nat Weinstein. **SUNDAY, FEB. 24, 7:30 P.M. 116 University Place** (near Union S.) SUNDAY, FEB. 17, Harry Ring, an Analysis of the CP Convention.

The **AMERICAN YOUTH FOR SOCIALISM** invites you to a Song and Dance Party to get acquainted, Sat., Feb. 23, 9 p.m. 116 **University Place.**

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(No CODs. Full payment must accompany each order. Checks or money orders should be made payable to Guardian Buying Service. All New York City buyers please add 3% sales tax.)

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VITAMIN & MINERAL

100 capsules — $2.75 ppd.

Each capsule contains:

Vitamin A	5,000 USP units
Vitamin D	1,000 USP units
Thiamin HCL (B1)	3 mg.
Riboflavin (B2)	2.5 mg.
Pyridoxine HCL (B6)	0.75 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	5 mg.
Ascorbic Acid (C)	50 mg.
Vitamin B12	1.5 mcg.
Folic Acid	0.34 mg.
d-Alpha Tocopheryl Acetate (Vit. E)	3 I. U.
Dicalcium Phosphate Anhyd.	747 mg.
Niacinamide	20 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried	45.56 mg.
Potassium Iodide	0.133 mg.
Manganese Sulfate, Dried	4.72 mg.
Cobalt Sulfate	0.49 mg.
Zinc Sulfate, Dried	3.9 mg.
Sodium Molybdate	1.01 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohyd.	2.8 mg.
Potassium Sulfate	11.2 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried	54 mg.

THERAPEUTIC

100 capsules — $3.95 ppd.

Each capsule contains:

Vitamin A	25,000 USP units
Vitamin D	1,000 USP units
Vitamin C	150 mg.
Vitamin B1	10 mg.
Vitamin B2	5 mg.
Niacinamide	150 mg.

GERIATRIC

100 capsules — $3.75 ppd.

Each capsule contains:

Vitamin A	12,500 USP units
Vitamin D	1,000 USP units
Vitamin B1	5 mg.
Vitamin B2	2.5 mg.
Vitamin B6	0.5 mg.
Vitamin B12	1 mcg.
Vitamin C	75 mg.
Niacinamide	40 mg.
Calcium Pantothenate	4 mg.
Vitamin E	2 mg.
Folic Acid	0.5 mg.
Dicalcium Phosphate, Anhyd.	260 mg.
Choline Bitartrate	31.4 mg.
Inositol	15 mg.
di-Methionine	10 mg.
Ferrous Sulfate, Dried	102 mg.
Cobalt Sulfate	0.193 mg.
Copper Sulfate, Monohydrate	1.257 mg.
Manganese Sulfate, Dried	1.573 mg.
Sodium Molybdate	0.253 mg.
Potassium Iodide	0.099 mg.
Potassium Sulfate	4.458 mg.
Zinc Sulfate, Dried	1.388 mg.
Magnesium Sulfate, Dried	21.583 mg.

the SPECTATOR

Presidensity

WALT KELLY, author of that more-than-human comic strip about animals in the Okefenokee Swamp, stages a contest every four years among his creatures for the "Presidensity". After reading transcripts of Mr. Eisenhower's most recent press conferences and trying to balance the contradictory statements emanating from White House, State Dept., Pentagon and Treasury, the temptation is great to apply the term "presidensity" to the atmosphere outdoors and indoors at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. The fog of non-information is thick; the inhabitant seems to be contemplating his niblick.

Of the Feb. 6 White House press conference, N.Y. **Post** correspondent William V. Shannon wrote:

"On issues ranging from the European oil shortage, inflation, civil rights to the Israeli-Egyptian dispute in the UN, and Dr. Albert Schweitzer's letter on Algeria, the President exhibited an uneasy grasp of the facts and a troubled uncertainty as to the correct position he should take."

- On the 12% rise in the price of crude oil (after his appeal to industry for restraint to ward off inflation): He couldn't comment directly because Director of Defense Mobilization Flemming had not told him the real reasons for the increase.
- On Dr. Schweitzer's letter to him asking for a sympathetic hearing of France's case on Algeria: His "eyebrows arched in surprise." He had received no letter. (Looks questioningly at asst. press secy. Murray Snyder; Snyder looks blank.) Well (with a smile), sometimes it takes two or three days for a letter to get to his desk. (The letter got full play in the New York and Washington press that morning.)
- On the 1951 UN resolution requiring free passage of ships through the Suez Canal: He was not aware that the UN had actually passed a resolution in the case of Egypt.
- On NATO commander Gen. Norstadt's pessimistic public statement the previous week on the outlook for European defense: He was not familiar with the remarks, but Norstadt had been in to see him and had not given **him** a pessimistic report.

TEES OFF ON SOUTH: But he really went off the fairway in reply to a question about a request from several Southern Negro ministers. They had asked him to make a trip South and speak out against the violence against Negroes in their fight for integration in the schools and buses. The quick Eisenhower temper flared up at that one. He had no time to work on such a speech because of his crowded agenda, he said. Then, as though seeing in a bubble over the head of every reporter present a picture of his week-end golfing junkets to Georgia, and his seven-day quail shooting vacation there beginning Feb. 9, he volunteered that he had always insisted on time for recreation in order to keep fit. Besides, he had spoken out so often on civil rights, he said, that he didn't know what he could add.

In the N.Y. **Times Magazine** of Feb. 3 Cabell Phillips, one of the most knowledgeable of Washington correspondents, said of Mr. Eisenhower:

"He is the most recreation-minded President of modern times, and it has been illness far more than duty that has cut into his indulgence in such favored pursuits as golf, fishing and bridge. He has a wide circle of friends who beat a steady but discreet path to the White House 'back door,' to the family farm at Gettysburg and to such favored vacation spots as Augusta when the President is in residence there."

THE KICKERS: And how does the President operate in his non-recreational activities? Phillips wrote:

"No President before him has created such an elaborate executive apparatus for getting the work of the Presidency done, nor relied so heavily upon it. And not many, certainly, have assembled such an impressive battery of anonymous confidants to counsel them in private.

"He doesn't go in for long, rambling discussions of a problem he's working on. He assumes that the people who are working with him have done that. But he will 'kick it around,' so to speak, at dinner or on the golf course . . ."

The feet engaged in this kicking-around process are well shod: Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, an old Army buddy; Gen. Lucius Clay, board chairman of Continental Can; John J. McCloy, board chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank; Ralph Cordiner, president of General Electric; William E. Robinson, president of Coca-Cola; Eugene Holman, board chairman of Standard Oil (N.J.). And several dozen other Wall Streeters.

COVER-UP: Thomas Jefferson described the Presidency as a "splendid misery," and each succeeding President has commented on its awful isolation and responsibility. Mr. Eisenhower's concept of the job is different. This is how he sees it, in Phillips' words:

"An efficient and all-comprehending machine which embraces features both of the military staff and the corporate board of directors. He has brought this concept to a high state of operational perfection and relies upon it with confidence. So much so, indeed, that the job—'splendid misery' or not—never seems to get him down."

Another big anti-depressant for the President is the communications monopoly of the nation—press, radio and TV—which has, with few exceptions, covered up his every display of ignorance of some of the most vital issues of our time. The lack of critical comment and just plain honest reporting from the White House is one of the most dismal chapters of modern journalism.

Some day, when newspapering leaves the ranks of the world's oldest profession, there's a great exposé to be written about the Eisenhower myth. Suggested title: "A Season of Smog."

—**James Aronson**